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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE ALBERTA TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION
AS AN INTEREST GROUP

by

STEVE N. ODYNAK

A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

The study of various disciplines has a great deal to contribute to the study of educational administration. An educational administrator in determining solutions to certain problems has the obligation of taking into consideration all of the situational factors involved. In the Province of Alberta, one of the situational factors with respect to certain educational problems may be the teachers' organization.

The purpose of this study was to examine the objectives, functions, and organizational structure of the Alberta Teachers' Association. The study was based on the theory of organization derived from the disciplines of political science, sociology, and economics as well as from the discipline of educational administration.

A number of hypotheses were derived from the theory of organization. These hypotheses were tested by employing descriptive analysis. Documentary evidence was used to show the operations of The Alberta Teachers' Association respecting four issues: (a) The Teaching Profession Act; (b) collective bargaining; (c) the Blackstock Commission; and (d) the Foundation Program Plan.

The examination of the organization of The Alberta Teachers' Association as an interest group showed that it had the dimensions of a bureaucracy. An active minority with certain characteristics was in non-formal control at every level of government in the Association. The active minority with the most non-formal control was the permanent Executive Staff.

This appointed Executive Staff was concerned with: (a) maintaining the Association as such; and (b) sustaining the relationships of the Association with other groups in society. Recently, these leaders have become more concerned with the professional improvement of the rank and file membership. Accordingly, many of the militant objectives manifested during the infancy of the Association have been gradually receding.

The findings supported the various hypotheses derived from the theory of organization. It was determined that The Alberta Teachers' Association as an interest group constitutes a power instrument and exerts considerable influence on certain legislation respecting education in Alberta. As a power instrument, it is under the non-formal control of the Executive Staff.

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CHAPTER I

GENERAL THEORY OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

It is hardly conceivable that our present-day world could be what it is without organization. If an individual is to command attention, he must speak, not as an individual, but as a member of a group. An organization, based as it is on the principle of least effort involved in the pooling of both human and physical resources, is the mainstay of the weak in their relationships with the strong. It is only by collectivity to form an organizational aggregate that the rank and file can acquire any semblance of power and reach some status of social dignity. Collectively, individuals have a voice in the direction of their affairs; singly, the individual is seldom if ever heard.

RELATED LITERATURE

Some fifty years ago a prominent sociologist, Michels, laid down his famous "iron law of oligarchy" in the following terms: "It is organization which gives birth to the dominion of the elected over the electors, of the mandatories over the mandators, of the delegates over the delegators. Who says organization says oligarchy."¹

Since that time a great deal of interest has been engendered in the power relations between the state on the one hand and organization on

¹Robert Michels, Political Parties (London: Jarrold and Sons, 1915), p. 401.

the other. Still further interest has been evinced in the power relations which exist between organizations on the one hand and the individuals who belong to them on the other. Various classical studies have been done in the field of power relations, the more notable being that of Roethlisberger and Dickson in the Hawthorne Plant of Western Electric. They emphasized the importance of informal organization to the salient working of a formal organization.² Both Moreno³ and Lewin⁴ have produced evidence on the importance of small primary group relations to an understanding of the actual processes that go on within formal organizations. Homan's study, The Human Group, greatly expanded these concepts.⁵

More specifically, three major types of studies are found in the literature: the study of a single interest group, the study of interest groups as they operate in a single area, especially in the realm of legislation over a comparatively short time span, and the study of interest groups concerned with a particular statute or conflict in policy. There are ample illustrations of each type of study. Among the ones which have proven useful to a certain extent is the study of the internal politics of the International Typographical Union by Lipset,

²F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, Management and the Worker (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939).

³Jacob L. Moreno, Sociometry (Beacon, N.Y.: Beacon House, 1951).

⁴Kurt Lewin, Resolving Social Conflict (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948).

⁵George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1950).

Trow, and Coleman.⁶ They found that democratic procedures were prevalent in this Union because of the two-party system involved in its elections. The study of the farm bureau movement by Kile proved to be quite helpful in that he shows how one can approach the study of an organization as a totality.⁷ Other case studies examined were Clark's The Canadian Manufacturers' Association⁸ and Garceau's The Political Life of the American Medical Association,⁹ the latter proving to be most useful. Garceau identified the American Medical Association as being bureaucratic and as being controlled by an active minority.

The basic theoretical framework for any study is found in the book, The Governmental Process, by Truman, which according to all other sources in political science is a monumental piece of work.¹⁰ Bentley's The Process of Government proved to be an invaluable source of theory since it is the forerunner of almost all the literature in the field of internal and external politics.¹¹

⁶S. M. Lipset, M. A. Trow, and J. S. Coleman, Union Democracy (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956).

⁷O. M. Kile, The Farm Bureau Movement (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1921).

⁸S. D. Clark, The Canadian Manufacturers' Association (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1939).

⁹O. Garceau, The Political Life of the American Medical Association (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1961).

¹⁰David B. Truman, The Governmental Process (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951).

¹¹A. F. Bentley, The Process of Government (Evanston, Ill.: The Principia Press of Illinois, 1935).

The book, Interest Groups on Four Continents, edited by Ehrmann is a symposium of relevant thinking regarding interest groups and provides an adequate guide as to the design of a study of any particular interest group.¹² It was prepared under the auspices of the International Political Science Association.

Michels' book, Political Parties, written at the turn of the century is, as the title suggests, concerned with the internal and external aspects of politics.¹³ It proved to be an excellent source of theory although many of the statements are rather categorical in nature without real illustrations of their verifiable applicability. His theories concerning misoneism and nepotism are interesting speculations regarding leadership and nominations to office, respectively.

Still other studies which were useful sources for general theory are by Merriam,¹⁴ Banfield,¹⁵ Lasswell,¹⁶ Laski,¹⁷ Key,¹⁸ Odegard,¹⁹

¹²H. W. Ehrmann, Interest Groups on Four Continents (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958).

¹³Michels, loc. cit.

¹⁴Charles E. Merriam, Systematic Politics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), also Political Power (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1934).

¹⁵Edward C. Banfield, Political Influence (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961).

¹⁶H. D. Lasswell, Politics, Who Gets What, When, and How (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1936), also H. D. Lasswell and A. Kaplan, Power and Society: A Framework for Political Inquiry (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1952).

¹⁷H. J. Laski, Authority in the Modern State (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919).

¹⁸V. O. Key, Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1956).

¹⁹Peter Odegard and E. Allen Helms, American Politics: A Study in Political Dynamics (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947).

Gross,²⁰ and Ostrogorski.²¹

Symposiums of relevant opinions in the field of political science were found in the books, Political Behaviour: A Reader in Theory and Research,²² and Freedom and Control in Modern Society.²³

With regard to more specific theory concerning organization and bureaucratic structure, Weber's books are indispensable.²⁴ Modern counterparts of some of Weber's theories are to be found in the writings of Blau²⁵ and Schermerhorn.²⁶ A composite picture of organizations is presented in Complex Organizations,²⁷ by Etzioni. Barnard also elaborates on the workings of executives in organizations.²⁸

Various other ideas have been derived from many sources. An

²⁰Bertram M. Gross, The Legislative Struggle (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1953).

²¹M. Ostrogorski, Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties (London: MacMillan, 1902).

²²H. Eulau, S. J. Eldersveld, and M. Janowitz, Political Behaviour: A Reader in Theory and Research (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956).

²³Morroe Berger, Theodore Abel, and Charles H. Page, Freedom and Control in Modern Society (Toronto: D. Van Nostrand, 1954).

²⁴Max Weber, Essays in Sociology, translated by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), also The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947).

²⁵Peter M. Blau, Bureaucracy in Modern Society (New York: Random House, 1956).

²⁶Richard A. Schermerhorn, Society and Power (New York: Random House, 1961).

²⁷Amitai Etzioni, Complex Organizations (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1961).

²⁸Chester I. Barnard, The Functions of the Executive (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958).

attempt to catalogue these at any time would prove to be onerous. However, the more pertinent ideas have been interwoven into the body proper of the study. The sources have been catalogued in the bibliography.

THE CONTROL OF ORGANIZATIONS

Most of these studies place repeated emphasis on the fact that organization inherently requires the development of bureaucratic patterns of behaviour in which an hierarchical pattern of power is evident and within which the actual policy-making is determined by an active minority. This active minority has been characterized as an oligarchy acting in direct contrast to the precepts such as the idea that a majority should rule, which it is believed are the tenets of modern democratic society.

The ascendancy of an active minority to the control of an organization has been termed one of the unanticipated consequences of men's purposeful social actions, the social action in this case being the formation of a workable organization. The transformation of a nominally democratic organization into one which is controlled by an active minority more concerned with preserving and enhancing its own power and status than in satisfying the demands and interests of its members is a persuasive illustration of an unanticipated consequence of organization. It follows from this that in any organization having some sort of hierarchically-graded membership, oligarchy will result if only one class of members has the right of voting in the general meeting of the organization, or if only one class of members is eligible to sit on the executive council. For example, an oligarchical form of government may develop in any organization if institutional forces operate to prevent the

election to the executive council of any but senior members.

This does not mean that an oligarchical form of government, when it should arise, is necessarily bad. It can be argued that the institutional forces which tend to concentrate power in the hands of the few may have beneficial results in so far as they make for a continuity of policy and for efficiency. The concentration of power in the hands of an active minority may indicate complete faith on the part of the rank and file in the active minority and the belief that it is working at all times in the best interests of the organization.

Parallel reasoning indicates that it is impossible for all of the individuals constituting an organization to be called into session and for them to undertake the direct settlement of all the issues that may arise. The larger the organization, the more formidable are the arguments stipulating the physical and technical impossibility of having the rank and file determine policy directly. Therefore, there is a need for delegation, viz: for the system in which delegates represent the rank and file and attempt to carry out its collective will.

Democratic principles aim to guarantee to all an equal influence and an equal participation in the regulation of the collective interests. Each member is an elector, and each member is eligible for office; but as the result of organization, whether for economic or political reasons, every association becomes divided into a minority of directors and a majority of directed. The stronger the organization, the lesser is the degree of applied majority rule.

To this effect it is the belief of various writers in political science that the more extended and the more ramified the official

apparatus of the organization, the greater the number of its members, the greater its financial resources, and the more widely circulated its activities, the less efficient becomes the direct control exercised by the rank and file and the more is this control replaced by the increasing power of the executive or its allied committees and staff.²⁹

CONTROL BY THE ACTIVE MINORITY

There are numerous illustrations from the world of business and unions of the fact that at the head of most organizations stands a small group of men most of whom have held high office in the organization's government for a long time, and whose tenure and control is rarely threatened by the rank and file. The real power, regardless of nominal right of control through elections or conventions, lies with the holders of top executive positions. It is true that the executive's objectives of personal power and permanent tenure need not necessarily conflict with the interests of the rank and file, but it is also true that most executives of organizations wish to stay in office and therefore will adopt various tactics to do so. The term "oligarchy" seems to carry a distasteful connotation, but it may be normal for group leadership to tend toward long tenure and toward self-perpetuation. Again it is emphasized that such a state of affairs does not mean that the interests of the mass of the organization are neglected by its leaders.

²⁹Michels, loc. cit., and Truman, loc. cit. These are just two of the writers who express such a belief; there are a number of others.

ORGANIZATIONAL INTERACTION WITH OTHER GROUPS

If it is the policy of government to give respect to the wishes of the people, some means have to be found to ascertain those wishes before the implementation of new legislation. Viewed in this manner, what better means of ascertaining the wishes of the people are there than by contacting various representative status groups in society not only in respect of what new legislation could be brought forth, but also in respect of the effects this new legislation would have on the segment of society most closely associated with it? In a sense, then, the well-knit organization of an interest group is a supplementation of the formal mechanisms of a provincial or federal government. It may be shown that governments respond to pressures and plot their courses in terms of the number and intensity of pressures which impinge upon them. The group is in a good position to exert intense pressure. A provincial government will in most instances before drafting new legislation contact organizations which have some semblance of status and qualified leadership.

Members of an organization or interest group are also members of other groups. A member of a teachers' organization may also belong to the Home and School Association, the Social Credit party, the Fish and Game Association, etc. There is an overlapping of membership. The result is that an individual has just so much time at his disposal and often has to decide where the bulk of his time will be spent. Most of his time will be devoted to the primary group so that the secondary groups, at best, receive only his nominal membership. A primary group is of necessity a small group, e.g., a family unit, and the means of

interaction is on the basis of a face-to-face relationship. A secondary group encompasses a larger membership, e.g., a teachers' organization, and negates to a great extent any face-to-face contacts. Because an individual's active membership in a secondary group may only be part-time, the secondary group may lose a certain amount as far as its cohesiveness is concerned. The result may be eventual control by members who can devote more of their time and effort. In the realm of internal politics of organizations, the theory of pluralism suggests that an overlapping in group membership negates the cohesiveness of an organization which has unitary control. The absence of membership participation facilitates the existence of an active minority control. It would seem that only in instances where the members form organized or structured subgroups which, while maintaining a basic loyalty to the larger organization, constitute relatively independent and autonomous centers of power within the organization so that members have more primary group "belongingness" is it possible to enhance the chances of majority control. It follows then that one of the functions of an organization is to stabilize the relations of individuals in associated groups into cohesive units and to order their relations as a group with other groups.

THE ACTIVE MINORITY AND ITS INTERACTION WITH OTHER GROUPS

It would seem that relationships among organizations in our society are of paramount importance and an inevitable tendency of organizations has been to operate in the political sphere to achieve both political and economic advantages. This tendency may suggest that

the organization's own internal relationships determine the group's relations to governmental institutions since one function of an organization is to make claims through or upon governmental institutions, the latter also being a group. But in all organizations and groups, direction and decision may rest in the hands of a small percentage of members, a percentage which becomes less and less in proportion to the larger and larger size of the overall membership, until in a very large membership the percentage may become a small proportion of the whole number. The officials of the executive and their immediate associates, through their greater familiarity with the organization's affairs derived from their advantageous position may begin to play a disproportionately large role in determining the policy directed at influencing governmental institutions.

One must never lose sight of the fact that a group is a set of interactions. A group is not a mass of physical beings, but is rather some of the interactions of certain beings varying at all times to a certain degree so that ultimate policy depends upon the effective political pressure generated by the interest group and by the political skill of the individuals in a position of leadership.

→ In order for the executive of an organization to be effective in influencing the legislative process of the provincial government, it must have access to the necessary governmental institutions. One of the more basic factors affecting access is the position of the group or its executive in the social structure. Among other things, stability and cohesiveness of structure and financial power are of pervading importance. However, the importance of knowing "the right people" and the peculiar

nature of the governmental institutions themselves cannot be discounted.

Truman elaborates and summarizes the argument as follows:

The extent to which a group achieves effective access to the institutions of government is the resultant of a complex of interdependent factors. For the sake of simplicity these may be classified in three somewhat overlapping categories: (1) factors relating to a group's strategic position in the society; (2) factors associated with the internal characteristics of the group; and (3) factors peculiar to the governmental institutions themselves.³⁰

Within Truman's first category would be included the group's status in society, its standing and its activities when measured against the widely-held "rules of the game", the extent to which government officials are members of the group, and the usefulness of the group as a source of technical and political knowledge and expediency.

The second category would consist of such items as the extent and propriety of the structure of the group, the degree of cohesion, the skills of leadership, and the group's resources in membership and finances.

The third category would be concerned with the operating structure of the governmental institutions themselves and the effects of the group life of particular units or branches of government.³¹

SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

The foregoing summary derived from the related literature

³⁰Truman, op. cit., p. 506.

³¹Truman, loc. cit.; the information in this section has been derived from this source.

constitutes considerable divergence from what are commonly deemed to be the effects of an interest group on the legislative process and on the body politic. The legislative process is usually viewed as being separate and apart from the workings of interest groups. The following questions may rightfully be asked: (a) How does an interest group emerge? (b) Under what circumstances does it make claims upon or through governmental institutions? (c) In actual situations and over a period of time, what are the internal features of an interest group determining its leadership, cohesion, and resources? (d) In what fashion does an interest group operate upon the legislature and its subdivisions? Other questions would be concerned with the conditions which are responsible for the development and institutionalization of an active minority in the control of an organization's affairs. Still further questions would be concerned with the conditions which are responsible for the development and institutionalization of majority membership control of an organization's business. Various propositions have been advanced in this regard, but the more pertinent ones seem to be concerned with the history, organizational structure, financial affairs, communicative channels, and methods of dealing with other organizations or groups. The formal organization of a group determines the internal workings and the internal workings determine the activities and influence. However, instead of looking at a particular interest group immediately, it is necessary to look at more specific theory concerning organizations in order to set the stage for the testing of a number of hypotheses.

CHAPTER II

THEORY OF ORGANIZATION AND BUREAUCRACY

The main purpose of this chapter is to show that the dimensions of bureaucracy are to the social scientist as the principles of organization are to the educational administrator. This means that in a study of organization, an interdisciplinary approach is to be taken since the knowledge gained in various disciplines may be put to great use in the study of educational administration.

A further purpose of this chapter is to outline more specifically some of the basic concepts from the social sciences which may be formulated into hypotheses to be tested in a study of an organization related to education.

From the social sciences, it would seem that in today's complex world there has been established a need for organization in order that the efforts of mankind may be more efficiently utilized towards the promulgation of some desired ends. Therefore, organizations have been defined as coordinated human activities to realize specific goals. Barnard defines organizations in the same vein as being "associations of cooperative efforts to which it is possible and customary to give definite names, that have officers or recognized leaders and that have reasons for existence that may be approximately stated."¹ In a more

¹Chester I. Barnard, The Functions of the Executive (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 4.

succinct fashion Lasswell and Kaplan treat organizations as "patterns of solidarity and cooperation."² Moreover, organization means the establishment of some form of instrumentality so that the official and non-official policies envisaged by this instrumentality may become effective. The emphasis is on systems directed towards goals and as stated by Etzione:

Organizational goals serve many functions. They give organizational activity its orientation by depicting the state of affairs which the organization attempts to realize. They serve as sources of legitimation which justify the organization's activities and its very existence, at least in the eyes of some participants and in those of the general public or subpublics. They serve as a source of standards by which actors assess the success of their organization. Finally, they serve as an important starting point for students of organization who, like some of the actors they observe, use the organizational goals as a yardstick with which to measure the organization's performance.³

A concomitant of organization is the establishment of some apparatus. It is the premise of this writer that this apparatus is the adaptation of a form of bureaucratic structure in order to establish the division of labor inherent in any modern system of governing.

PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATION

According to Blau, "Bureaucracy. . . can be defined as organization that maximizes efficiency in administration, whatever its formal characteristics, or as an institutionalized method of organizing social

²Harold D. Lasswell and A. Kaplan, Power and Society: A Framework for Political Inquiry (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1952), p. 31.

³Amitai Etzioni, "Two Approaches to Organizational Analysis: A Critique and a Suggestion," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 5, No. 2 (September, 1960), p. 257.

conduct in the interest of administrative efficiency."⁴ It would appear that the central problem is the expeditious removal of all of the obstacles which may recurrently arise in the path of efficient operations. No preconceived system of procedures is needed to accomplish this expeditious removal, but rather the creation of conditions favorable to the continuous adjustive development of the organization is required. There are certain principles of organization that would maximize efficiency in the administration of any complex enterprise, the essential basis of which is the division of labor with its necessary adjunct of delegation of authority. These guiding principles which would facilitate the initial design of an organizational structure have been summarized as follows:

1. Principle of the Objective: Since organizations are formed with particular objectives in mind, their structure should mirror these objectives. . . . Each part or subdivision of the organization, although it has its own particular objective and purpose, should be in harmony with the main objective of the undertaking.

2. Principle of Authority and Responsibility: Responsibility for the execution of work must be accompanied by the authority to control and direct the means of doing the work. Thus the necessary authority should be delegated at the same time and in the same degree as the responsibility for the task.

3. Principle of Formal Authority: A clear line of authority must run from the top to the bottom of the organization. Every person in the organization should know, by the clarity of his assignments, to whom and for what he is responsible. No individual should be required to take direct orders from more than one person.

4. Principle of Ultimate Authority: The responsibility of a higher authority for the acts of its subordinates is absolute. The administration at the top of the power echelon must assume final responsibility for all executive matters.

5. Principle of Span of Control: The number of persons reporting directly to a superior should be limited. At the same time, administrative efficiency is increased by keeping to a minimum

⁴Peter M. Blau, Bureaucracy in Modern Society (New York: Random House, 1956), p. 60.

the number of organizational levels through which a matter must pass before it is acted on. . . .

6. Principle of Assignment of Duties: The duties of every person in the organization should be confined as far as possible to the performance of one major function. When this is not possible, . . . only duties and activities that are similar, or are directly related, should be combined for execution by a particular individual or a particular group.

7. Principle of Definition: The duties and formal relationships of everyone in the organization should be clearly prescribed in writing. Yet policies should be stated in terms broad enough to permit reasonable flexibility in management.

8. Principle of Perpetuation: Although organizations may from time to time find it desirable to obtain some of their executive personnel from outside their own systems, they should make provision for developing leadership abilities within their own ranks. An organization provides positions of increasing responsibility within which it can train people to assume new administrative positions as they become available. A comprehensive and consciously planned program should be carried out to meet the future needs of the system, at least in part.

9. Principle of Flexibility: The organizational structure should be such that in a growing system it can be extended and adapted to new needs without major revisions.⁵

The principles of organization suggest that there is: (a) a specialization of labor; (b) an hierarchy of authority; (c) a system of rules and regulations; and not as obvious but still being implicit, (d) an impersonality in procedure. Essentially, provisions must be made for a bureaucratic apparatus which would form a power instrument of the

⁵These principles have been summarized by F. Enns in "Characteristics of Good Staff Organization," Administrative Staff Organization in Urban School Systems (Edmonton: The Division of Educational Administration, University of Alberta, 1960), pp. 6-7, and have been adapted from the following: L.P. Alford and H.R. Beatty in Principles of Industrial Management (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1951), pp. 159-60; Chris Argyris in "Some Propositions About Human Behaviour in Organization," Symposium on Preventive Social Psychiatry (Washington: Walter Reed Army Institute of Research, 1957), p. 221; Ernest Dale in Planning and Developing the Company Organization Structure (New York: Ames Management Research Report, 1952), p. 204; and E. L. Morphet, R. L. Johns, and T. L. Reller in Educational Administration (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1959), pp. 56-66.

first order since modern, complex organizations are composed of a highly elaborated hierarchy of authority superimposed upon a highly elaborated division of labor.

THEORY OF BUREAUCRACY

On the basis of the foregoing section the question arises as to what are the dimensions of bureaucracy under the assumption that the concept of a dimension is one that it is a description of a phenomenon that exists in the form of a continuum. Furthermore, although all organizations can be characterized as being bureaucratic to some degree, certain variations in structure within any particular organization must be recognized in order to ascertain a meaningful composite.⁶

Many writers in the field of organizational and bureaucratic theory have attempted to categorize the dimensions of a bureaucracy. Weber seems to be the precursor of these writers with his attempts to suggest a rationale which would effectively and empirically identify the ideal bureaucracy. His main characteristics of an ideal-typical bureaucracy are worth noting and are summarized as follows:

1. "The regular activities required for the purposes of the organization are distributed in a fixed way as official duties."⁷

⁶Richard H. Hall, "Intraorganizational Structural Variations: Application of the Bureaucratic Model," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 3, No. 3 (December, 1962), pp. 297-299.

⁷Max Weber, Essays in Sociology, translated by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 196.

A division of labor would embody the employment of individuals in each specialized position and that each of the individuals would be responsible for an effective performance requisite to his position.

2. "The organization of offices follows the principle of hierarchy; that is, each lower office is under the control and supervision of a higher one."⁸ This statement suggests that a bureaucracy attempts to accommodate specialization within an hierarchical framework in that the hierarchy is a system of roles with the actors being designated as subordinates and superordinates. The subordinate is responsible to his superordinate in a one-to-one relationship and is accountable to him for not only his own decisions but also for the decisions of his own subordinates. In the latter case he now becomes the superordinate.

3. The activities of the organization are governed "by a consistent system of abstract rules. . . ."⁹ With a system of rules some uniformity in the performance of duties is possible. Rules and regulations would be such as to define the scope of each member of the organization and in some instances the relationships amongst members. Rules and regulations may be ranged along a continuum from the simple and routine to the most complex and time-consuming.

4. "The ideal official conducts his office. . . (in) a spirit of formalistic impersonality, sine ira et studio, without hatred or passion,

⁸Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 331.

⁹Ibid., p. 330.

and hence without affection or enthusiasm."¹⁰ This implies that there must be an exclusion of personal considerations and feelings from any official business and that a prerequisite for efficiency in operations is an impartial disposition towards personnel and operations. Whether this can ever be achieved or not is another matter.

5. Working in a bureaucratic organization "constitutes a career. There is a system of 'promotions' according to seniority or to achievement or both."¹¹ Employment would be based on technical qualifications and would in almost all instances be protected against arbitrary dismissal. Such policies affecting the personnel of the organization would encourage an esprit de corps among the members and confirm their probity. Everything they do may be designed for the good of the organization since they are basically loyal because of tenure approval and economic considerations.

6. "Experience tends universally to show that the purely bureaucratic type of administrative organization. . .is, from a purely technical point of view, capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency."¹² Essentially, Weber, from his point of view, believed that a bureaucratic structure maximized organizational efficiency providing that the organization was discerned as a totality and consequently overcame the difficulties imposed by the fact that individuals within this totality were not operating effectively or for that matter were operating

¹⁰Ibid., p. 340.

¹¹Ibid., p. 334.

¹²Ibid., p. 337.

indifferently as individuals. This means that the organization as a collective subjugated the inherent personality aberrations which at times could manifest themselves and prove to be dysfunctional to the overall goal concepts. Merton summarizes this point by stating that "The chief merit of bureaucracy is its technical efficiency, with a premium placed on precision, speed, expert control, continuity, discretion, and optimal returns on input."¹³

Other writers followed Weber's lead and attempted to elaborate the dimensions of bureaucracy. In this connection Hall surveyed all the major literature written on bureaucratic structure and by including Weber's precepts postulated the summary which appears as Table I.¹⁴

From Table I and from the elaborated concepts of Weber, the most common dimensions of bureaucracy may be listed as being: (a) hierarchy of authority; (b) division of labor; (c) instituted procedural devices in work situations; (d) technically competent personnel; (e) rules and regulations governing the behaviour of members; and (f) authority derived from position in office.

PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATION AS RELATED TO THEORY OF BUREAUCRACY

A comparison of the principal dimensions of bureaucratic structure with the principles of organization shows that no real disparity

¹³Robert K. Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," in Amitai Etzioni, Complex Organizations (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961), p. 50.

¹⁴Hall, op. cit., p. 298.

TABLE I
CHARACTERISTICS OF BUREAUCRACY AS LISTED BY MAJOR AUTHORS

Dimensions of Bureaucracy	AUTHORS							
	Weber	Litwak	Friedrich	Merton	Udy	Heady	Parsons	Berger
Hierarchy of Authority	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Division of Labor	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Technically Competent Participation	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Procedural Devices for Work Situations	X	X	X	X		X		X
Rules Governing Behaviour of Members	X	X	X	X				X
Limited Authority of Office	X			X		X	X	
Differential Rewards of Office	X				X			
Impersonality of Personal Conduct		X		X				
Administration Separate from Ownership	X	X						
Emphasis on Written Communication	X							
National Discipline	X							

exists. A clause-by-clause comparison shows that the organizational principle of having an objective is equivalent to the bureaucratic dimension of having a system in order to achieve certain specified goals. The organizational principles of authority and responsibility, formal authority, and ultimate authority are congruent with the dimension of hierarchy of authority in bureaucracy. Further, the organizational principles of span of control and assignment of duties are congruent with the bureaucratic concepts of division of labor, instituted procedural devices, and rules and regulations governing the behaviour of members. The organizational principle of definition is also congruent with the concept of having technically competent personnel in a bureaucracy prescribed with duties and formal relationships. Moreover, the organizational principle of perpetuation could be viewed from two vantage points, the first being that the authority exercised by the personnel would be a concomitant of their relative positions in the hierarchy and the second being that the organization itself would be perpetuated by the fact that the incumbent personnel in the upper echelons of the bureaucracy would work for the good of the organization as a totality. The organizational principle of flexibility suggests that the bureaucratic apparatus within its subgroupings would necessitate some "give and take" on the part of these subgroupings in order to achieve the desired goals. Also, it suggests that the whole organization must be flexible in coping with the strategies of competing organizations whenever the allocation of resources within the body politic of the economy is concerned.

In summary, it is suggested that organization in a complex society seems to involve some form of bureaucracy and that the principles

of organization are not incompatible with the dimensions of bureaucracy. Indeed, the principles of organization should be viewed as being congruent with the dimensions of bureaucracy.

However, this implication does not suggest that every organization is an ideal type of bureaucracy. It suggests that the extent of bureaucratic structure may be one of degree depending on the ramifications of the organization. Bureaucracies are not such rigid structures as seems to be widely assumed because a structural-functional analysis of a bureaucratic organization might indicate that conditions change. In this instance, new problems may arise necessitating that a succession of goals be implemented. In the course of coping with the new problems, new procedures may be established which could transform the various social relationships and therefore modify the bureaucratic structure itself.

BUREAUCRATIC ORGANIZATION AND THE ACTIVE MINORITY

In the previous sections it has been stated that organization is equivalent to bureaucracy. It is the premise of this section that bureaucracy determines the control of an organization by an active minority, with the term "active minority" being defined as the group at the upper levels of the organization. The argument that an active minority controls an organization becomes most evident from the dimensions of bureaucratic structure which denote an hierarchy of authority, a division of labor, and the use of technically competent participants. The hierarchy of authority implies inequality. Subordinate-superordinate relationships mean someone has to rule and someone has to be ruled and

"Bureaucracy is inherent in the sheer problem of administration. . . ."15

As a consequence large-scale organizations tend to develop a bureaucratic structure--a system of rational and predictable administration which is hierarchically constituted. Accordingly, the formal means and channels of communication within the organization and with other organizations fall almost exclusively into the hands of a few officials. These officials are a minority in comparison to the total number of people who come under their authoritative jurisdiction.¹⁶ They are also a minority by the very fact that out of the total membership in the organization only they saw fit to compete for their respective offices as opposed to the other members who were not so zealous. Schermerhorn phrases the supposition that a minority tends to influence an organization as follows: "As collective participation in decisions decreases, the decision-making function is assumed by smaller groups who take over responsibility for the more or less unorganized mass. In other words, there is a trend toward oligarchy."¹⁷ Schermerhorn uses the term "oligarchy" as a synonym for "active minority". Mosca phrases the same concept thus:

In reality the dominion of an organized minority obeying a single impulse, over the unorganized majority is inevitable. The power of any minority is irresistible as against each single individual

¹⁵Seymour M. Lipset, Martin A. Trow, and James S. Coleman, Union Democracy (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956), p. 9.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Richard A. Schermerhorn, Society and Power (New York: Random House, 1961), p. 26.

in the majority who stands alone before the totality of the organized minority. . . A hundred men acting uniformly in concert, with a common understanding, will triumph over a thousand men who are not in accord and can therefore be dealt with one by one.¹⁸

The concepts of technical competence and division of labor which imply skills and positional incumbency seem to point to the fact that the active minority in control of an organization is a group of officials in that organization who would be some place in the vicinity of the very pinnacle of the hierarchical power structure.

SOME REASONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF ACTIVE MINORITY ASCENDANCY

Various reasons have been advanced for the fact that control of the bureaucratic apparatus of an organization ultimately becomes vested in an active minority either by formal or non-formal means. The first of these reasons is suggested by the very fact of formal organization in that an active minority is fostered by a following of the principles of organization. The control of power by an active minority is therefore just a matter of degree.

A further reason advanced is that the technical and managerial skills or expertise acquired by those who come to occupy certain positions in the organization are the anticipated consequences of these positions and therefore are influential in fostering the growth of an active minority.

A third influence upon the development and maintenance of an active minority is the incumbents' control of the finances of the

¹⁸Gaetano Mosca, The Ruling Class (New York: McGraw Hill, 1939), p. 53.

organization. The active minority is in a position to affect decisions regarding the allocation of funds, personnel and other tangible resources.

Tradition and customs perpetuate the ascendancy of an active minority. The active minority becomes conversant not only in the rules and regulations but also conversant in scrupulously observing the customary mode of doing things.

A still further influence that facilitates the development of an active minority is related to the strategic position of the organization in its relations to other organizations in the society at large. Situations develop in which an organization finds itself in more or less open conflict with other organizations, or in which it may wish to seize upon some advantage that seems apparent at a given time. There is a need for quick maneuvering and strict discipline. An active minority is in the most advantageous position to close its ranks and negotiate just such accruals. This means that amongst organizations there is a need to sustain relationships on a basis of continuity. An active minority, devoting full time to administering the organization is in the best position to sustain relationships between its group and other groups and to guard against any incursions on the group's privileges by other groups.

A sixth influence which may facilitate the emergence of an active minority involves the qualities of the members of the organization who constitute the rank and file. These attributes could be spelled out from two vantage points. In the first place there may exist apathy and indifference on the part of the rank and file regarding the purposes or status of the organization in the larger society. In the second place, members of organizations usually have overlapping interests in that they

are members of other organizations or groups. The resolution of the conflict of interests which may develop hinges largely on the immediacy and imposition of the organization itself. Some members are on the periphery of the organization and have only a nominal interest in the fulfillment of its ends.¹⁹

HOW AN ACTIVE MINORITY SUSTAINS ITS CONTROL

The goal achievement orientation of an organization would engender control by an active minority. However, the question that immediately arises is what happens once the goal is achieved? Two answers are suggested. In the first instance, there could be a displacement of goals so that there arises within the organization a preoccupation with keeping the bureaucratic apparatus intact at the expense of basic objectives. The maintenance of the organization as such becomes the overriding purpose instead of the original goal achievement orientation. In the second instance, there may arise a succession of goals which is basically the reverse of the first point of view. This view means that as the earlier objectives are attained, they become stepping stones for the attainment of newer objectives. The histories of various complex organizations illustrate the notion that initially the organization was militant in spirit with the prime objective of attaining recognition of its status and legitimacy--its "place in the sun". However, in time, the original militancy became displaced by other, newer objectives related to the

¹⁹The discussion in this section is based largely on material found in David B. Truman, The Governmental Process (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951).

exigencies of change so that other, more feasible procedures had to be worked out. In the initial stages of the formation of an organization, threatening forces seemed to circumscribe its activities and aspirations, but in time some of these forces were modified, extinguished, engulfed or allied. As Gardner postulates in a very recent article:

The young organization is willing to experiment with a variety of ways to solve its problems. It is not bowed by the weight of tradition. It rushes in where angels fear to tread. As it matures it develops settled policies and habitual modes of solving problems. In doing so it becomes more efficient, but also less flexible, less willing to look freshly at each day's experience. Its increasingly fixed routines and practices are congealed in an elaborate body of written rules. In the final stage of organizational senility there is a rule or precedent for everything. Someone has said that the last act of a dying organization is to get out a new and enlarged edition of the rule book.²⁰

But it should be mentioned that the use of the idea that there are threatening groups which are trying to impinge upon the manifest tenets of the organization may serve to restore the interest of the membership, an interest which seemed to be so consequential in the initial stages of the organization's existence. However, the "self-fulfilling prophecy" may be invoked in that what forces are perceived as being threatening actually come to constitute a threat by the very actions taken by the organization to overcome the initially perceived threat.

What are the more common devices used by an active minority to sustain its control? The one device most apparent is that of internal propaganda. This is usually accomplished by repeating the message of unity and loyalty in different media and at different times. Basically,

²⁰ John W. Gardner, "The Ever-Renewing Society," Saturday Review, Vol. XLVI, No. 1 (January 5, 1963), p. 92.

devices such as official organs or publications are designed to reflect organizational policy and to promote the "case for the defence" without any notice of their origins or manifestations. They are usually couched in the language of pious platitudes. It has been stated that "solidarity in relation to given policies varies with the degree to which considerations favorable to those policies are brought to the focus of attention of the group."²¹ To promote the idea of solidarity, various ideas may be utilized such as symbols, rites, words, timing, and counterpropaganda.

Further procedures used by an active minority to sustain control may be the use of services performed by the active minority and the use of consultation with the membership. These services may be the publication of work schedules of the incumbents or the publication of handbooks, briefs, aids, and other such paraphernalia.

The establishment of a cursus honorum among the top elective positions so that the most lucrative placements are filled by individuals whose acceptability to the active minority is unquestioned may be a further aspect of such diplomacy. An example of such a procedure is having the retiring elected officials appointed to head some committee.

An elaborate structure of standing committees may still further serve to provide a means of dispensing political largess. The membership on these committees is such that the incumbents are acceptable to the active minority. An ensuring factor may be having a ranking member of the active minority serve as a member of the committee even if it be only in an ex officio capacity.

²¹Lasswell and Kaplan, op. cit., p. 143.

In addition, an established minority group may recognize the emergence of new interests which are competing for the attention and support of the rank and file membership. It will lend its munificence towards the sponsorship of these new interests both monetarily and administratively. The adage of "if you can't beat them, join them" would ensure that the ultimate obligations of the new alignments would be disposed favorably to the active minority, but would not replace this minority.

SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

In this chapter it has been proposed on the basis of research and theory in the field of organization and bureaucracy that the need for organization leads to the formation of a bureaucratic apparatus which becomes a power instrument within the control of an active minority. It may be seen that "many elements undoubtedly combine to make up that particular ordering of human behaviour which we call bureaucratic organization."²² It is wrong to state that all the elements are necessary for bureaucratic organization and therefore control by an active minority. Vestiges of these elements are to be found in any complex organization and description of them is just a matter of degree. Organization represents concentrated power, and concentrated power can be utilized to exert a dominating influence when the organization encounters power which is diffused and not concentrated. The consequences of power are

²²Victor A. Thompson, "Hierarchy, Specialization and Organizational Conflict," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 5, No. 4 (March, 1961), p. 485.

more readily perceivable when the groups who control this power are studied in real situations. The problem for the researcher is "who is really speaking when the organization presents its case?" or more succinctly, "which group constitutes the active minority or the power holders in an organization?" because "in political power situations, there appears a type of force through which masses of human beings are manipulated as if by some magnetic attraction or aversion."²³

Some of the questions that may direct reasoning and therefore are useful in any analysis are: (a) Where are the formal and non-formal concentrations of power? (b) What is the relationship of these concentrations to each other? (c) What is the shape of the power structure? (d) What is the tradition of past decision? and (e) What are the modes of formal and non-formal control? The study proceeds on the basis of this formulation:

Regardless of what a table of organization does or does not say about who are the managers or executives of an organization and who are the subordinate staff and who are the ordinary workers, the managers of an organization are conceived herein to be those who have had the last chance to select one or another from a set of two or more alternative decisional outcomes. The "political leaders" of a polity are so conceived. They are the men, regardless of official position, who have contributed to the making of a decision, to the emergence of one rather than another decisional outcome, at a stage in decision-making when there were still options available. It may be that official position and actual leadership role in decision-making correspond, but this may not always be the case and the degree of correspondence may vary from place to place and from time to time.²⁴

²³Charles E. Merriam, Political Power (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1934) p. 7.

²⁴Robert E. Aggar, "Political Science and the Study of Administration," in The Social Sciences and Educational Administration, edited by Lawrence W. Downey and Frederick Enns (Edmonton: The Division of Educational Administration, University of Alberta, 1963), p. 55.

The hypotheses which are stated in Chapter III have been derived from the preceding two chapters which tended to summarize the relevant thinking in organization.

CHAPTER III

THE PROBLEM

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Organizations play a vital role in the social affairs of mankind. An organization which has an automatic membership in excess of 13,500 and has a substantial budget must have had either extraordinary organizing abilities or extraordinary opportunity, or must have been actuated by motives or purposes deeply rooted and most potent. Such an organization is The Alberta Teachers' Association which has exhibited phenomenal growth in wealth and total membership and a great increase in the scope of its activities and influence.

The purpose of this study is to examine the functions and objectives of The Alberta Teachers' Association as an interest group and to analyze its organizational structure, its methods of operation and its activities. An effort is made to direct attention to the internal politics of The Alberta Teachers' Association and to see how the internal relationships constitute a cohesive force in the Association's interactions with other groups, namely, school boards and governmental institutions. The following two groups of hypotheses will be tested:

Group A:

(1) The Alberta Teachers' Association is a bureaucratic organization;

(2) The first goal of The Alberta Teachers' Association was to secure legitimacy which would then lead to increased membership, increased finances, and increased status;

(3) The procedures governing The Alberta Teachers' Association were institutionalized so that the Association could survive;

(4) A succession of goals was established so that the Association could survive;

(5) Certain activities are encouraged so that the Association is maintained;

(6) The Alberta Teachers' Association spends most of its funds and time on the maintaining of the organization as such and on the sustaining of the relationships of the Association with other groups in the body politic;

(7) The Alberta Teachers' Association has exerted considerable influence on certain legislation concerning education in the Province of Alberta; and

(8) Collective bargaining is an overriding concern of the Association since it is a "mutual-benefit" organization.

Group B:

(1) The real control of the decision-making process in The Alberta Teachers' Association is in the hands of the permanent Executive Staff; (i) formal control of the Association is in the hands of the Executive Council; (ii) non-formal control of the Association is in the hands of the permanent Executive Staff; and (iii) in most situations, non-formal control determines and overrides formal control;

(2) An active minority is in control at every level of government in the Association;

(3) The active minority at every level of government in the Association is drawn from males with degrees who are in administrative positions in teaching;

(4) The permanent Executive Staff works for the good of the organization;

(5) In the permanent Executive Staff itself, there is an hierarchy of positions and a division of labor exists; and

(6) The permanent Executive Staff members in exerting leadership in the Association learned their roles on the job, but also brought to the job considerable knowledge gained in large measure from their having been administrators in school systems.

THE NEED FOR THE STUDY

"An association is said to emerge when a considerable number of people have established tangent relations of some sort and when they interact with one another on that basis."¹ The Alberta Teachers' Association has become closely associated with all facets of education in this province and therefore with many phases of the general culture. Its influence, for example, whether it be in the field of public opinion regarding education or in the raising of educational standards, has grown tremendously. Few meetings of interested authorities in education take place without having some official representation from the teachers'

¹David B. Truman, The Governmental Process (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), p. 40.

organization. Every year, The Alberta Teachers' Association makes representations to the legislature of this province in the hope that its needs may be met through appropriate legislation. The representations have a two-fold function in that they may not only petition for direct benefit for the Association but they may also be designed to ameliorate objectionable aspects of existing legislation.

Although not demonstrated empirically, there is little doubt that the collective voice of the teachers' Association is heard and that it permeates the whole educational structure. Such an organization constitutes a pressure group primarily designed by virtue of its activities to exert some effective influence on the provincial pattern of education. Its interest lies in determining the allocation of resources within the body politic of the province.

But an association even though it is formally organized also has within it certain non-formal aspects as well. By virtue of its size and wealth and by the actions of its sub-groupings, an association may or may not typify a bureaucratic pattern of behaviour, and because its members have overlapping interests in various groups, an active minority may or may not gain control over its affairs. One result may be that the "collective" voice on association policy which is heard by other groups is only the collective voice of a few influential members. The rank and file know little or nothing of what is actually going on and have neither the desire nor the power to voice either approval or disapproval.

It is not the purpose of the study to make a value judgment as to

whether control by an active minority is good or bad. Rather the purpose is to determine whether an active minority does exist in The Alberta Teachers' Association, and the extent to which the objectives of the Association are being met regardless of minority or majority control. The inquiry is to be carried onto another plane where a professional association can be judged not in terms of minorities versus majorities, but in terms of such a standard as the extent to which it achieves vitality and efficiency.

To the best of the writer's knowledge no attempt has been made in Canada to analyze the organizational structure, objectives and activities of a provincial teachers' organization in the light of the theory constituting the body of knowledge regarding the political aspects, both external and internal, of an interest group. A need for such a critical assessment exists in order to increase knowledge of the operations of interest groups in general and of bureaucratic organization in particular. The normal position of an individual in an interest group with large membership in modern urban society makes it likely that few individuals will ordinarily be active participants in the affairs of that interest group. The absence of membership participation tends to facilitate the tenure and control of an active minority so that policy and formulations in specific instances purported to be presented by a majority may be the policy and formulations of a minority. While the power inherent in bureaucratic organization and lack of membership participation would be enough to account for the absence of majority control in associations, various pressures on association leaders act as further forces making them seek means of reducing this majority control in their

organization. The appearance and maintenance of a united front is at times necessary when skill in maneuvering with respect to such things as wage setting is needed or when continuity of policy and efficiency of operations are vital.

Political science theory has much to contribute to the study of educational administration. A teachers' association is one of the situational factors to be taken into account by an administrator, therefore a study of The Alberta Teachers' Association from the political science viewpoint should prove to be beneficial.

DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The study has been confined to one organization operating in the province of Alberta. This organization has been analyzed in the light of four major issues: (a) The Alberta Teachers' Association and The Teaching Profession Act; (b) The Alberta Teachers' Association and collective bargaining; (c) The Alberta Teachers' Association and the Blackstock Commission; and (d) The Alberta Teachers' Association and the Foundation Program Plan for financing educational costs.

An effort was made to trace the relationships amongst levels of government in the Association, but no attempt was made to trace internal relationships within any one level.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Organization: A consciously coordinated system in society--a group. The term is used at times as a noun and at times as a verb.

Group: Interactions among human beings.

Interest Group: Any group that makes claims on or through any other group or individual is termed an interest group.

Association: A considerable number of individuals who have established tangent relations of the same sort and who interact with one another regularly on that basis form an association.

Bureaucracy: Government by officials organized in an hierarchical structure.

Active Minority: Government by the few. An oligarchy.

A.T.A.: Abbreviation for The Alberta Teachers' Association.

A.S.T.A.: Abbreviation for The Alberta School Trustees' Association.

Formal Organization: A system of written rules and regularions governing formal relationships and being unique to that particular organization.

Non-formal Organization: Work-oriented rules and regulations, but not written and therefore may be external to the "rules of the game".

Complex Organization: An elaborate hierarchical structure superimposed on an elaborate division of labor.

Alberta Teachers' Alliance: The name of The Alberta Teachers' Association up to 1935.

Blackstock Commission: The informal name given to a Royal Commission set up in Alberta to investigate the feasibility of instituting a Provincial Salary Schedule for teachers.

THE COLLECTION OF DATA

Data have been collected from primary sources since this was essentially a documentary study of a single interest group working within the province of Alberta. From a study of the delegates to the Annual General Meeting such items as the age of the delegates, their experience in teaching and in administration, or in the work of the Association, their sex, their administrative positions if any, their academic qualifications, their average age, and their average salaries were determined. From an overall analysis of the membership of The Alberta Teachers' Association such items as age, sex, experience in teaching, academic qualifications, salary, and administrative positions were presented. From the information thus derived it was possible to determine whether or not there was some grouping structure involved as far as the delegates to the Annual General Meeting were concerned. The year, 1962-63, was taken as the base.

By a study of the constitution and by-laws regarding (a) the provincial organization, (b) the local organization, and (c) the sub-local organization, the extent of formal federated or unitary control inherent in these instruments was determined. A study of the executives of the levels of government of the Association--the Executive Council and the Local--as to age, sex, experience in teaching or in the affairs of the organization, academic qualifications, salary, and administrative positions served as the basis for a decision as to grouping structure and type of control. These characteristics were chosen because of their objectivity and accessibility. Interviews with selected past executive

members and the present Executive Secretary of the central organization were conducted in so far as was feasible in clarifying the relationships involved in the hierarchical structure and also in ascertaining such objectives as were not written.

A further point of study was the membership of the standing committees and the permanent Executive Staff as to method of appointment and as to age, sex, qualifications, experience, etc. Actual duties of the Executive Staff were ascertained to determine the division of labor and the hierarchical structure. Presidential reports, secretarial reports, and other committee reports were studied with a view to strengthening observations concerning these positions.

A study of the resolutions submitted to various Annual General Meetings as to their origins, the method of being voted upon, and the final disposal of same had a two-fold purpose. In the first place, such a study served to determine not only minority interests but also rank and file interest. In the second place, the study attempted to find out which resolutions were designed for educational advantages, which were designed for economic or political advantages, and which were designed for repealing or modifying existing policy.

A study of a few selected briefs submitted to the provincial legislature and to various commissions was made. In regard to the briefs submitted to the provincial government, an attempt was made to trace their implications on legislation. Official press releases were of value also, since they served to bring before the rank and file the idea that outside forces or groups were perforce threatening their own organization.

The Teaching Profession Act and The Alberta Labour Act provided interesting studies in that they served as articles of control by the governing body. Automatic membership in The Alberta Teachers' Association, admittance requirements to the organization, and disciplinary control of members were studied. The question of the organization's rights under The Alberta Labour Act also merited reference.

The financial statements for selected years provided some idea of the scope of interests and the financial strength of the Association.

A look at the official publications of The Alberta Teachers' Association provided not only the historical material relating to growth but also the cataloguing of the variety of interests and activities of the organization. The authors of the articles, the editors and staff members, and the process of editing served to point out interesting patterns of control and influence. Other publications of the Association were studied as to purpose, nature and influence.

A further study was made of some of the major involvements of The Alberta Teachers' Association such as: (a) the Banff work-shop, (b) the Principals' Leadership Course, (c) the meetings of the A.T.A. and the A.S.T.A., and (d) the various subject-interest councils so recently created.

Other activities such as teacher initiation ceremonies, the annual curling and golf tournaments, and the internship plans proved useful bases for determining scope and influence. It was possible to illustrate that in order to keep the status and cohesiveness of the Association intact, certain kinds of activities did take place.

Still further information was gathered from the Department of

Education in Alberta and The Alberta School Trustees' Association as a means of presenting other points of view regarding certain, selected issues. For example, the A.S.T.A. views of collective bargaining were used to contrast the views of the A.T.A., and the Department of Education files on teachers were examined for information regarding the Past Presidents of the Association.

Four major issues were determined and then were made the bases of an attempt to show where the locus of control lay in regard to each of the issues. The extent of non-formal procedures was carefully ascertained. For example, by taking collective bargaining as the issue or activity, an attempt was made to ascertain exactly where and how control lay when collective bargaining did take place. Besides collective bargaining, the other issues studied closely were The Teaching Profession Act, the Blackstock Commission, and the Foundation Program Plan.

It may be gathered from the aforementioned analysis that the study was primarily descriptive in nature based on rather extensive documentation. However, on the basis of the information gathered concerning the structure, organizationally and financially, the activities, and the procedures, both formal and non-formal, of The Alberta Teachers' Association, it was possible to determine many facts in order either to support or to reject the original hypotheses.

PROCEDURE AND TREATMENT OF DATA

Primarily, the data were processed according to criteria set out for the evaluation of the findings. The anticipation had been that those criteria would be forthcoming from the literature dealing with the work

of groups or organizations especially in regard to any further avenues of organization, objectives, and activities. In practice, this anticipation proved correct.

Charts, diagrams, and tables served to summarize pertinent data. Perusal of the history of the Association served to point out trends which became useful in the study of the organization.

Treatment of the data in this fashion evidenced emerging patterns of organization. Throughout the study an attempt was made to illustrate how the knowledge of the workings of interest groups can lead to an understanding of the situational factors so important in educational administration.

THE OVERALL PLAN OF THE DISSERTATION

An attempt was made to present in Chapter I the general theory regarding social organizations. In the second chapter, more specific theory concerning organizations, bureaucracy, and the active minority was presented. The purpose of these two chapters was to bolster the assumptions underlying the original hypotheses listed in this chapter. Chapter III also presents the problem and the method.

In the next group of chapters an attempt is made to describe the history of the Association and the formal organization with its activities, finances, and publications. In other words, a description of the anatomy of the organization and the workings of the parts of the anatomy are developed. Further, a description of the levels of government in the Association is made.

The next chapters treat with the four major issues drawing on

information gathered from the previous sections. Each of the issues has been given both extensive and intensive treatment in order to show how the Association operated in regard to them.

Finally, a summary and recommendations terminate the study of this interest group.

CHAPTER IV

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE ALBERTA TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

The Alberta Teachers' Association had its inauguration in the period of World War I as the culmination of a meeting of a group of teachers in an Edmonton church during Easter Week, 1918.¹ Coming as an offshoot of the Alberta Educational Association was the formation of the Alberta Teachers' Alliance. Initially, a group of interested teachers troubled by the exigencies of the times gathered with the purpose of setting goals, institutionalizing an administrative core, and formalizing procedures and activities. Prominent in the first meeting were the problems associated with the raising of the status of the teaching profession and the promotion and advancement of the teachers' interests as a group. As individuals, the teachers had little voice in the educational policies of the province, but as a group it was hoped that their collectivity of voices would be effective in not only determining these educational policies but also in favorably influencing the government and other groups concerned towards sustaining the teachers' interests. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the history of The Alberta Teachers' Association from three points of view: the setting of goals; the institutionalizing of an administrative core; and the formalizing of procedures and activities.

¹John W. Barnett, "A Brief Historic Record of The Alberta Teachers' Association" in The A.T.A. Handbook edited by W. Roy Eyres (Edmonton: The Alberta Teachers' Association, 1962), p. 18.

THE SETTING OF GOALS

Among the objectives of the new organization were security of tenure for teachers, full citizenship rights, a code of ethics, a pension scheme, publication of a magazine, and membership of all Alberta teachers in their professional organization.² The securing of legitimacy by this new organization had to be the primary goal. Therefore, all activities and procedures were so designed as to raise the status of the teachers so that the government and other organizations would allot the teachers' group a place at the conference table. To this effect, an editorial in the official organ of The Alberta Teachers' Association stated:

John W. Barnett, The Alberta Teachers' Association first general secretary, often said that the phenomenal growth of our organization was sparked by antipathy shown to The Alberta Teachers' Association in its early years. Indeed, Dr. Barnett's historical account of our development during the years 1918 to 1946 is largely a record of an unending, unremitting struggle for status, both professional and economic.³

A former president of The Alberta Teachers' Association in somewhat different terminology carries out the same train of thought thus:

In 1918, John Barnett and some farsighted educationists founded the Alberta Teachers' Alliance. Unlike many organizations which come into being through an undefined, do-good sentimentality, The Alberta Teachers' Association had clearly defined objectives from its inception.

These objectives might have almost been called the teachers' Magna Carta, for on a sheet of paper John Barnett had written down: 'professional membership, security of tenure, pensions, faculty of education, professional standards, negotiated agreements, and

²Ibid.

³The Alberta Teachers' Association, A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 38, No. 4, p. 4.

professional representation in curriculum, teacher education, and other educational matters.⁴

At the same time the government and other interested groups took steps to quash this collectivity of teachers, so much so, that the new Minister of Education in 1918 headed the opposition to the growth and influence of the Alberta Teachers' Alliance. The teachers' group, however, reacted by taking steps to hire a paid organizer to convince the rank and file that their membership in this infant Alliance would greatly strengthen its hand and therefore would be beneficial to the teachers as a body. As Barnett stated it: "The antipathy of the powers that be was well countered by the enthusiasm of the teachers in supporting the Executive and in resentment against external interference with the teachers' organization."⁵

The basic struggle for legitimacy culminated in the passage of an amendment to The Teaching Profession Act in 1936 which provided for automatic membership on the part of teachers in Alberta in The Alberta Teachers' Association, the new name for the Alberta Teachers' Alliance. Ipsa facto, it was a recognition of legitimacy with the concomitant of a union shop.

Now that The Alberta Teachers' Association was recognized as the official spokesman for the teachers, one of the major original goals had been realized. However, a succession of goals had to be implemented, some of which as yet have not been completely realized. An editorial in the

⁴A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 37, No. 6, p. 27.

⁵Barnett, op. cit., p. 19.

official organ of The Alberta Teachers' Association in 1957 or twenty-one years after the passage of the all-important amendment to The Teaching Profession Act stated:

Let us not be deluded into thinking that there are not challenges as dangerous facing us today. Attacks on our rights to tenure and to collective bargaining have mounted steadily. Our insistent urging that standards for teachers be raised is labelled as a selfish interest. We are called a powerful pressure group, a trade union, and our spokesmen have been termed malcontents.⁶

Nevertheless, of the original goals professional membership had been attained. In succeeding years came representation by teachers in curriculum, teacher education and other educational matters. The Teachers' Superannuation Act of 1939 was the first major step towards the provision of the comprehensive pension scheme which is in effect today. In 1945, the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta assumed the responsibility for the training of teachers and Normal Schools in Alberta became extinct. Teacher certification came under the aegis of the Board of Teacher Education and Certification which counted three representatives from The Alberta Teachers' Association among its constituent membership.

One of the original goals, security of tenure, has not been realized to its greatest possible extent, so that full security of tenure remains one of the paramount aims of The Alberta Teachers' Association. The removal of the one-year probationary period from any teaching contract when the teacher initially accepts a position remains an objective of the Association. Other aspects to be realized are related to

⁶ A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 38, No. 4, p. 5.

transfers of teachers. However, it would be right to state that in security of tenure the teachers in Alberta enjoy the greatest privileges in Canada.

After The Alberta Teachers' Association was recognized as such, it eventually came under the provisions of The Alberta Labour Act in 1941 in that the Association could become the official bargaining agent for its teachers in the matter of wage disputes and working conditions. An editorial places the problem in this light: "Alberta teachers believe that collective bargaining regulated by The Alberta Labour Act is the best means by which school boards and teachers can decide the salaries and the living and working conditions for teachers."⁷

By spelling out a Code of Ethics, the Association has come to regulate the rules of conduct amongst its members. Thus the Discipline Committee of The Alberta Teachers' Association decides on matters relating to breaches of professional conduct, so much so, that in the only one case of its kind, The Teaching Profession Appeal Board upheld the Discipline Committee's decision to expel a member although the member had been acquitted in the ordinary courts of the province.⁸

Finally, it seems that the original aims of the Association have, in the main, been realized; however, this does not mean that the Association now goes out of existence. On the contrary, it has set up new goals. These new aims may be categorized as: (a) an extension of the security of tenure; (b) a greater share of the resources of the economy; (c) a "higher

⁷ A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 37, No. 6, p. 4.

⁸ A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 41, No. 1, p. 54.

standards" approach to admission in the Association; and (d) professional extension of the responsibilities of teachers. Concurrent with these aims, a great deal of time and effort is directed towards maintaining and sustaining the Association itself, which means that the Association's numerous activities, publications, and procedures may well fall into a description which is designed to guarantee the gains of the Association to date and to project a favorable image to the other groups in society. Accordingly, the Association is concerned with the preservation of the status quo, but at the same time it looks for future gains. This means that the original goals have not been displaced, but rather that they have been achieved to a relatively high degree and consequently new goals have been set out.

Nevertheless, from an assessment of the evidence in relation to the setting of goals, it appears that since the original goals have been, in the main, attained, the Association is now directing its efforts into four broad directions: (a) consolidation and some extension of its gains; (b) maintenance of the organization and prevention of incursions on its status; (c) extension of its influence into other areas (still in education); and (d) encouragement of the rank and file towards participation in the Association's efforts as seen by the leaders.

To illustrate this point, it is useful to compare the original platform of The Alberta Teachers' Association as enunciated in 1918 with the platform as enunciated in 1962, some forty-four years later. John Barnett had, in the former instance, listed the objectives as being professional membership, security of tenure, pensions, faculty of education, professional standards, negotiated agreements, and professional

representation in curriculum, teacher education, and other educational matters. It is immediately apparent that these have all been attained with possibly security of tenure yet to be expanded. In 1962, the educational platform of The Alberta Teachers' Association read as follows:

1. Official recognition of The Alberta Teachers' Association as the organization representing the teaching profession of the province: (a) by the government; (b) by school boards; and (c) by all other groups.
2. Fulllest possible cooperation between The Alberta Teachers' Association and (a) the Department of Education, (b) school boards, and (c) all other organizations interested in education.
3. The right of The Alberta Teachers' Association to have representation on all boards of inquiry having under consideration the efficiency or conduct of a teacher (including summary dismissals and transfers).
4. Promotion on the basis of seniority, all other qualifications being equal.
5. Increased government grants.
6. Equality of educational opportunity: free adult education, extension of high school and university privileges to rural districts.
7. Provision for special instruction of talented children.
8. Provision for special instruction of handicapped children.
9. Province-wide medical and dental inspection of schools.
10. Elimination of juvenile labour.
11. A tightening of the truancy law and release of the teacher from the duty of informing.
12. Higher professional training for teachers.
13. Equal pay for equal professional education and teaching experience.
14. A limit of twenty-five students per class or room for proper work in a modern school system.⁹

It would seem that the majority of these statements are not expressions of the original militancy of the organization. Rather, they are expressions of a belief in the maintenance of the organization as such and a safeguard against any incursions on goals already prevalent. In this vein, Selznick postulates that in an organization, the maintenance of the organization as such is a generic need and may be specified

⁹A.T.A. Handbook, 1962 edition, p. 14.

in terms of the following imperatives:

- (1) the security of the organization as a whole in relation to social forces in its environment;
- (2) the stability of the lines of authority and communication;
- (3) the stability of informal relations within the organization;
- (4) the continuity of policy and of the sources of its determination; and
- (5) a homogeneity of outlook with respect to the meaning and role of the organization.¹⁰

Also, Bruner states this fact as follows:

Nothing has hurt unions more than the impersonal march of economic history which has brought in . . . prosperity, a smug complacency on the part of the satisfied workers, and the creeping conservatism of union leaders themselves who realize that almost all the benefits they once fought for are already theirs.¹¹

He further states that "unions, I suspect, will content themselves primarily with striving to maintain existing rights and benefits"¹² and that the character of a union has "changed to the point where it has become little more than a middle-class, special interest group"¹³ with not very broad horizons. The Alberta Teachers' Association is in the process of re-formulating its existing policy and must continue to do so in order to keep abreast with the dynamics of change which characterize the fabric of this modern society. Or as Sills writes, "Dissolution, however, is not the only course of action open to an organization when its purposes are either achieved or become irrelevant because of changes in the social environment; in fact, it is equally easy to find examples

¹⁰Philip Selznick, "Foundations of the Theory of Organization" in Amitai Etzioni, Complex Organizations (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961), p. 26.

¹¹Dick Bruner, "Has Success Spoiled the Unions?" Harvard Business Review, Vol. 38 (May-June, 1960), p. 73.

¹²Ibid., p. 78.

¹³Ibid.

of organizations which have remained intact for the purpose of working toward new and sharply modified objectives."¹⁴ The Alberta Teachers' Association is a prime example of just such an organization. In repetition of this argument, Thompson and McEwen also write, "Reappraisal of goals thus appears to be a recurrent problem for large organizations. . ."¹⁵ because a "continuing situation of necessary interaction between an organization and its environment introduces an element of environmental control into the organization"¹⁶ and therefore the efforts of an organization "must produce something useful or acceptable to at least a part of the organizational environment to win continued support."¹⁷

THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF A CORE

In any organization, some sort of machinery has to be instituted whereby the business of operations is carried out. In the light of formal organization, the development of instrumentation is the structural expression of rational action. Or as Selznick states,

The mobilization of technical and managerial skills requires a pattern of coordination, a systematic ordering of positions and duties which defines a chain of command and makes possible the administrative integration of specialized functions.¹⁸

¹⁴David L. Sills, "The Succession of Goals" in Amitai Etzioni, Complex Organizations (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961), p. 149.

¹⁵James D. Thompson and William J. McEwen, "Organizational Goals and Environment" in Amitai Etzioni, Complex Organizations (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961), p. 178.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 179.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Selznick, op. cit., p. 19.

At the first meeting of the Alberta Teachers' Alliance, an executive was installed. The following year at the Easter Convention in Calgary, the decision was made to appoint a full-time General Secretary-Treasurer who would assume the responsibilities of his office on July 1, 1920. A President, a Vice-President, Executive Councillors and a General Secretary-Treasurer formed an Executive Council or a minority to represent the interested teachers at that time. This initial minority was an outcome of an Annual Meeting, so that it is consistent with the evidence to assume that the prenatal form of the present Annual General Meeting was the body determining organizational expediency. In time, various provisions were made to institutionalize levels of government as offshoots of the minority in order to expand the minority, itself. The result was the institutionalization of the councillors to the Annual General Meeting, the Executive Council, the Local, the sub-local, the table officers, and a system of standing committees to meet perceived needs. To run the day-to-day affairs of the Association, a permanent office executive was appointed and eventually expanded. The end for such institutionalization of the subgroupings or levels of government within the collectivity is to be found in the General By-laws of The Alberta Teachers' Association. Because of a presumed division of labor, an hierarchy of levels of government was designed. At the same time it must be remembered that "while core|formation may be a conscious and designed process, it also develops naturally, as an indirect result of day-to-day interaction."¹⁹

¹⁹Philip Selznick, "Critical Decisions in Organizational Development" in Amitai Etzioni, Complex Organizations (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961), p. 358.

It is important to remember for purposes of this study that The Alberta Teachers' Association had its beginnings in one group which eventually proceeded to form subgroupings. The central executive was first formed and then numerous sub-executives were instituted. Local associations are formally the offspring of the central association. A study of the General By-laws of The Alberta Teachers' Association strengthens this observation since local associations must apply to the central association for recognition of their legitimacy. This indicates that a unitary type of control is prevalent in contrast to a federated type of control. Once the "core" was institutionalized, the next step was to formalize procedures and activities.

FORMALIZATION OF PROCEDURES AND ACTIVITIES

Selznick states that, "A very familiar phase in the life-history of organizations is the formalization of procedure."²⁰ Therefore, it is imperative that there be a historical sensitivity to the formalization of procedures and activities because these are largely the results of the revamping of organizational structure within the perspective of developmental changes. It is possible to view these developmental changes within such a framework that they are most sharply reflected in personnel turnover. In the initial stages of organizing when the basic nature of an organization's goals meant a militancy in its outlook, the problems which faced the personnel who were in executive positions were largely those of conducting the struggle for power and recognition of the Associa-

²⁰Ibid.

tion. Thus techniques of quick maneuvering and mobilization of the membership played disproportionate roles.

Once the organization's leaders achieved its initial aims, militant procedures became inappropriate and in many instances could even prove to be harmful. The issue then became one where the formalization of procedures and activities is such that they are largely to be geared towards the preservation of the status quo. It is useful now to see what procedures and activities of The Alberta Teachers' Association have become formalized. In the first place, the overall procedures involved in appointing the permanent executive staff stem from the times when the Association had to achieve legitimacy. Preceding legitimacy is the attainment of status and dignity. The result is that not only must the executive staff be appointed on the basis of their having been active in organizational affairs but also on the basis of their being esteemed individuals in their own right. Technically, anyone may be eligible for such office, but it behooves the organization to appoint not "just anyone".

The same reasoning may be applied to the procedures involved in attaining position as a member of the Executive Council or as a councillor to the Annual General Meeting or as president or secretary-treasurer of the various local associations. Formalization of procedures involved in election predicates that these positions are not open to nonentities. Skill in organization as well as personal approbation are necessary before one can become a member of any one of the aforementioned levels of government. A study of the present incumbents will readily account

for this procedure.

Now what about other procedures and activities? Again the search for legitimacy means a setting-up of a constitution and a codification of behaviour. Elaborate by-laws and codes of ethics plus claims to professionalism are meant to raise the status of the Association in the eyes of the competing groups in the body politic. Still further activities must be introduced in order to ensure that the interests of the rank and file are as nearly coincident as possible with those of the organization as a totality. Accordingly, coercion and strike action become passé, whereas professional activities come into vogue.

Permeating these changes in the focus of inquiry is the proper assessment of personnel. Within the present structure of The Alberta Teachers' Association there appears to be little room for the militant type of union leader. No better evidence of this fact is indicated than the resignation of the general secretary in 1958. His leadership had not been in step with the changing status of the organization, so much so, that his retention had antagonized almost all other groups in the educational sphere of the province. The change of the Association to a new type of leadership was the result of the change in the Association's goals, even though this was not really a conscious process at the time.

Not that the change has really been to the other extreme. On the contrary, vestiges of militant leadership are still retained in order to prevent incursions by other groups. As well, other forms of activities and procedures, embryonic in nature during the militant period, were to receive greater prominence. One can almost term this change in leadership, procedures, and activities as a "maturing of the organization",

but at the same time it is a preserving of some of the customs and traditions of the adolescent years. Apropos of The Alberta Teachers' Association, the customs and traditions consist of nostalgic reminiscences about the procedures and personalities of the past, embodied in such things as dedicating buildings to its leadership, but also with a look to the future in such things as social activity, seminars, conferences, etc.

On the basis of these observations of change over time, it is suggested that there are a great many causal relationships which form the various subsystems of links and feedbacks that could be used to reconstruct an intricate system of social control in specific situations. These intricate systems of control operating in certain, specific situations will be indicated in succeeding chapters.

One further aspect of formalizing procedures is inherent in the turnover of membership. The membership in The Alberta Teachers' Association is not static since some members are retiring while others are coming in. The Association has adapted itself to this turnover by impressing the new members with its importance by the conducting of initiation ceremonies. It is rewarding older members with faithful service by awarding life memberships in many instances. This formalized procedure attempts to guarantee the loyalty of members and negates the effects of disgruntled members by being "something to everyone". Concomitant with this procedure is the imposition on the new members of the fact of "just who the leaders are". With the retiring members, it is a case of "we haven't forgotten your services".

SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

In reviewing the history of The Alberta Teachers' Association the inquiry has been from three points of view rather than just a cataloguing of a series of auspicious and austere events. These points of view have been attempts to diagnose the setting up of goals by the Association, the institutionalizing of various levels of government as the hierarchical structure of the Association, and the formalizing of procedures and activities by the Association. The conclusions derived are that the Association has attained its early militant objective of securing legitimacy and that at present the setting up of new goals and the maintaining of the Association as such are paramount. For these two reasons institutionalization of the various levels of government and the formalization of procedures and activities have been evolutionary in nature and not necessarily consciously contrived. In the light of the theory of organizational bureaucracy, it is apparent that an hierarchy is established, that a division of labor exists, that procedural devices in work situations have been institutionalized, that there are rules governing the behaviour of members, and that authority is derived from position in office. The dimensions of bureaucracy have developed historically; however, in succeeding chapters it is proposed not only to describe the hierarchy in more detail but also to see how the hierarchy operated in specific situations in order to ascertain where the real control lies.

CHAPTER V

THE LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT OF THE ALBERTA TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

It is proposed in this chapter to examine the levels of government in the Alberta Teachers' Association in a comprehensive manner, working on the basis of a formal conception of these levels and actual incumbency in the year 1962-63. The inquiry is centered on whether the representation in the levels of government is actually commensurate with the membership in the collectivity.

In the study of organizations it is not really adequate to examine only the organizational chart, the formalized rules of behaviour, and the activities. Rather, for a fuller grasp of the structure of organizations, there must be some attempt to draw conclusions which, although they may stem from the organizational chart and various by-laws, suggest circumspect deviations that may be the actual forces in positions of power.

Accordingly, it is imperative that the methodological problems posed here be dealt with by attempting to distinguish a structural, an organizational, and a developmental dimension. Therefore, the first part of the chapter deals with the structural dimension from three aspects whereas the organizational dimension pervades the discussion. The developmental dimension constitutes the discussion in the later part of the chapter. There is an attempt to reify the concept of group structure by first obtaining empirical measures that pertain to the characteristics

of individual members of the level of government in question. These measures were age, length of teaching experience, sex, administrative position, degree, and salary. Secondly, these measures that describe individuals in certain respects were combined into one index for each level of government using means and percentages. The third procedure was to hold the characteristics of individuals constant in order to isolate the structural dimension and thus describe the attributes of that level of government. At the outset, it must be stated that all the empirical measures have been determined by the writer from the records of the Alberta Teachers' Association and the Department of Education using the school opening reports, the IBM card files and both a computer and a counter-sorter.

Throughout the chapter the analysis of the organization is viewed in terms of social conduct as delineated by such major independent variables as: hierarchy of levels of government, the division of labor amongst the levels, control and sanctioning mechanisms, rules and regulations, etc. In the later part of the chapter, the developmental dimension is viewed within the framework of change. The pattern of change is described as being a dialectical development using this term to mean the process of solving some problems while frequently creating others. A dialectical development is a learning process in which experience, if anything, is gained.¹

Moreover, the inquiry is confined to the relationships amongst

¹The preceding discussion is largely based on the following: Peter M. Blau, "Formal Organization: Dimensions of Analysis," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 63 (1957), p. 58.

levels of government and in no way except inadvertently, is^{it} directed towards role behaviour within any one level, useful as such an inquiry might be. An attempt to ascertain informal relationships within units of a collectivity would be beyond the scope of the present study but would be meritorious in itself. One level of government, the permanent Executive Staff, is left to the next chapter since this level is of major interest to the study as a whole.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

The formal organizational chart of the Alberta Teachers' Association as illustrated by Figure 1 suggests that there are several levels of government in the Association. These levels may be characterized as follows: (a) the membership at large; (b) the Sub-local Associations; (c) the Local Associations; (d) the Annual General Meeting; (e) the Executive Council; (f) the Table Officers; (g) the Executive Staff; and (h) the Standing Committees. According to Figure 1, the Annual General Meeting is the legislature of the Alberta Teachers' Association. The Executive Council and the Table Officers constitute the executive arm and the Executive Staff is the administrative arm. What now follows is a discussion of each of the aforementioned levels of government from two points of view: (a) the formal constitution of the level, and (b) the characteristics of the incumbents.

THE MEMBERSHIP

The membership of The Alberta Teachers' Association is made up largely of "all persons who are carrying on the profession of teaching in

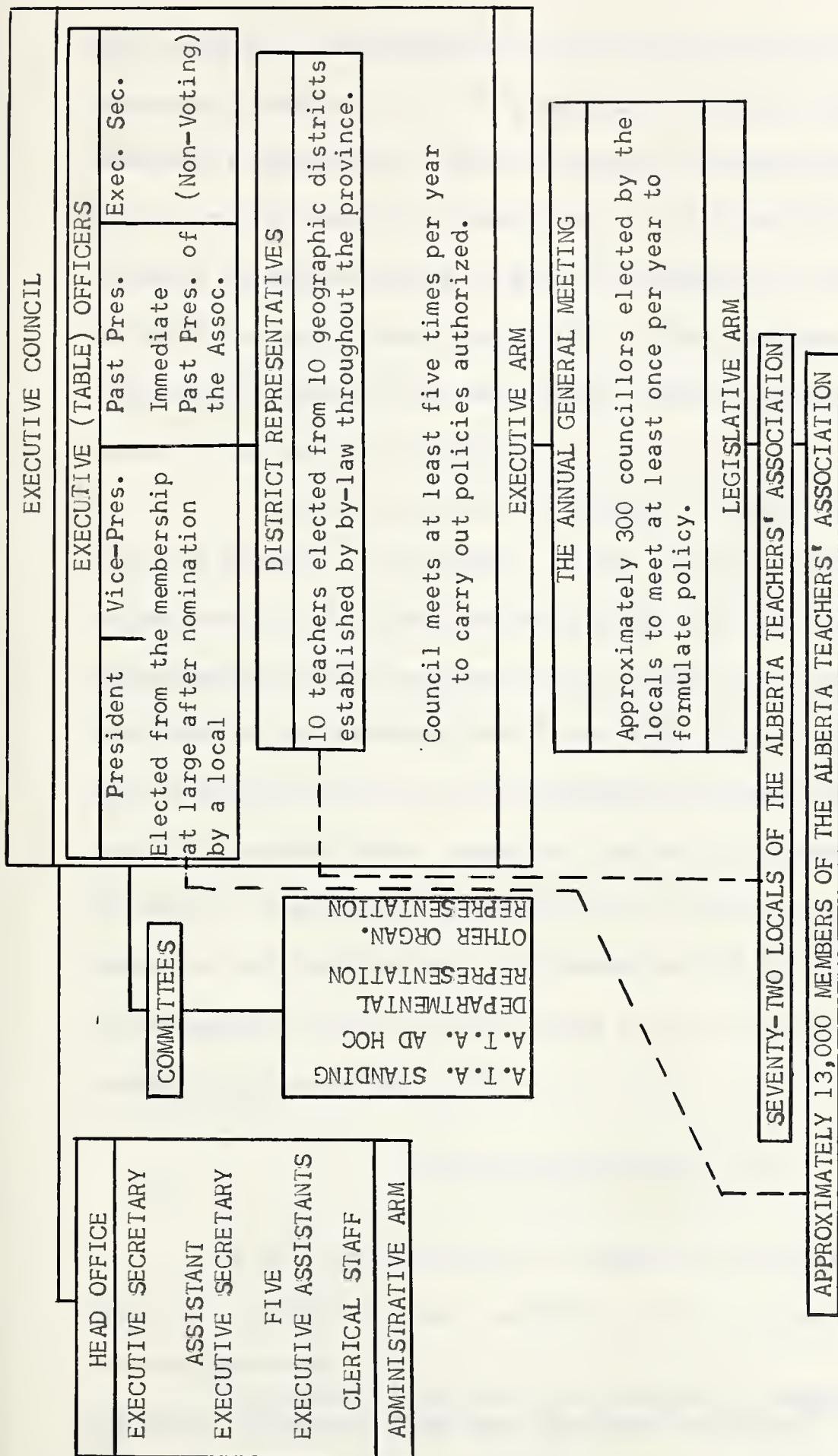


FIGURE 1

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF THE ALBERTA TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION²

²A.T.A. Handbook, 1962 edition, p. 215.

any institution of the Province that is supported by provincial or municipal taxation. . . ."3 A requisite to public school teaching in Alberta is membership in good standing in the Association. However, members of the Faculty of Education of the University of Alberta, teachers in any provincial school of technology, or school of agriculture, or any other educational institution of the province, and unemployed teachers are eligible for membership. They may become members voluntarily on an associate basis.⁴

In 1962-63, there were in excess of 13,500 teachers in the Province of Alberta. On the basis of IBM cards for 13,147 of these teachers, it was found that 32 per cent were males. Of the teaching force, approximately 58 per cent had only one year of training in teaching according to the teaching certificate they held, whereas 29 per cent were the holders of one or more degrees in either education or some other discipline. Also, eight per cent of this teaching force were classified as principals of schools of at least two rooms. The average salary of the teaching body for 1962-63 was \$5,504.64. The average age of the teaching force was 39.2 years and the average number of years of teaching experience was 11.5.

THE SUB-LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS

The only provision made for Sub-local organizations is to be found in the proposed Local Association Model Constitution.⁵ The Local

³Government of the Province of Alberta, The Teaching Profession Act Chap. 331 R.S.A. (Edmonton; The Queen's Printer, 1955) Sec. 5 (1).

⁴Ibid., Section 6. ⁵A.T.A. Handbook, op. cit., p. 218.

Association could include subsidiary branches as its Executive Committee may approve and as the Executive Council of The Alberta Teachers' Association may ratify. According to the Executive Secretary in his report to the Annual General Meeting in 1962: "About 150 sub-locals remain active."⁶ Because these Sub-local Associations have little or no jurisdiction beyond maintaining membership interest, it is the writer's conclusion that they merit no further discussion in this dissertation.

THE LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS

In 1961-62, the number of Local Associations of The Alberta Teachers' Association increased from sixty-nine to seventy with the organization of the Northland Local.⁷ Actually, there are seventy-two Local Associations in the province, but of these Associations, two consist of associate members only and therefore have been omitted from any statistical measurement. According to the A.T.A. By-laws "any twelve members of the Association may apply to the Executive Council to form a local. . . ."⁸ The Executive Secretary of The Alberta Teachers' Association stated in 1962:

The typical boundary of the local is the inspectorate. A local may have as many as six bargaining units (employing boards). Typically, rural locals have 75-100 members, although the smallest is about 35 and the largest about 2,000. The local is a basic unit of organization. It chooses the A.G.M. Councillors and so controls the parliament. Note that individual members elect district

⁷Ibid.

⁸ The Alberta Teachers' Association, A.T.A. By-Laws (Edmonton: The Alberta Teachers' Association, 1962), Section 8.

representatives. The local initiates resolutions to the Annual General Meeting. The local carries out collective bargaining. It may engage in action research or other inservice activities.⁹

The objects of the Local Association have been outlined by the central Association as follows:

- (a) to further the aims and objects of The Alberta Teachers' Association;
- (b) to foster observance of The Alberta Teachers' Association Code of Ethics;
- (c) to promote active professional interest among the members in all educational matters;
- (d) to promote and develop annual fall conventions; and
- (e) to stimulate and arouse public interest in education.¹⁰

It was noted that: "The constitution, by-laws, or rules and regulations of any local shall be subject to revision, addition or disallowance by the Executive Council,"¹¹ and according to the Executive Secretary of the A.T.A., "Locals are provided with financial support of \$9.00 per member per year conditional on the submission of an annual report to the Association. Locals may also levy an additional fee if approved by Executive Council."¹² Typically, the total membership of any one Local meets once a year at the annual convention at which time the Executive is elected and various items of business debated. The main officers of the Local are the President, the Vice-President, the Past President, the Secretary-Treasurer, A.G.M.. Councillors, Sub-local Representatives, and certain ex-officio members.¹³ The central

⁹S. C. T. Clarke, "Organization of the Alberta Teachers' Association, 1962" (mimeographed), p. 4.

¹⁰A.T.A. Handbook, op. cit., p. 218.

¹¹A.T.A. By-laws, op. cit., Section 15.

¹²Clarke, op. cit., p. 4.

¹³A.T.A. By-laws, op. cit., Section 9.

Association keeps records only of the President, the Secretary-Treasurer, and the A.G.M. Councillors. The Executive of a Local meets approximately once a month.

In the year, 1962-63, the seventy Presidents of the various Locals had an average age of 39.6 years. The average teaching experience was 13.7 years. Also, of the seventy Presidents, 90 per cent were males and 68 per cent were in some administrative capacity in teaching: 48 per cent were Principals, 18 per cent were Vice-Principals, and two per cent were either department heads or supervisors of instruction. Only 32 per cent were regular classroom teachers or teachers of special subjects. Of the total number of Presidents, 71 per cent held at least one degree, and the average salary of the seventy Presidents was \$7,732.51.

With regard to the Secretary-Treasurers of the Locals in the year, 1962-63, the average age was also 39.6 years, but the average teaching experience was 12.9 years. Fifty-four per cent of them were males. Of the seventy incumbents, 30 per cent were in some administrative capacity in teaching in that 12 per cent were principals and 18 per cent were vice-principals. Sixty-nine per cent were regular classroom teachers and the figure of one per cent denoted a permanent Secretary-Treasurer of the Edmonton Local. Also, 44 per cent of the Secretary-Treasurers held at least one degree, the others being without degrees. The average salary of the seventy was \$6,209.72.

The Local Association constitutes the first real level of government in the hierarchical levels of government in The Alberta Teachers' Association. It has very little real power in a constitutional sense. The division of labor amongst the levels of government suggests that the

purposes of the Local are primarily to maintain interest in the organization, to negotiate collective salary agreements under the aegis of the parent Association, and to promote certain professional and social activities such as the annual convention with a view to in-service training. Being a President or a Secretary-Treasurer of a Local would suggest, according to the statistics, a certain amount of visibility and prestige since election to these positions indicates peer approval. Table III shows that the leadership on this primary level comes from an active minority which has the characteristics of being male, being with a degree, and being in administration, with a concomitant being a higher salary.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

"The Association shall be governed by an Annual General Meeting to be arranged by the Executive Council during Easter Week of each year, or at such time as it may determine."¹⁴ To this meeting come the members of the Executive Council, the permanent Executive Staff, and the duly accredited Councillors of the Locals. These Councillors are elected on the basis of one Councillor for every fifty members or fraction thereof from the Locals, but every Local must be represented by at least two Councillors.

In 1962-63, there were 316 Councillors of whose number the average age was 40.6 years and the average number of years of teaching experience was 14.8. Of the Councillors, 81 per cent were males and 58 per cent

¹⁴The Teaching Profession Act, op. cit., Section 10 (1).

were in some administrative capacity in teaching. Seventy-one per cent held at least one degree. The average salary of the 316 Councillors was \$7,606.71. Also, 38 per cent of the Councillors had been at the Annual General Meeting the previous year.

The purpose of the Annual General Meeting is to review the work of the previous year, to establish long-range policy, and to change existing by-laws or to enact new ones. Since "the Association is established by legislation, the by-laws which spell out detail must be approved by at least 50 per cent of each of the Locals and two-thirds of the Councillors."¹⁵

With respect to having Councillors attend more than one Annual General Meeting, the President of The Alberta Teachers' Association stated in 1957:

It is true that one needs new blood in any organization, but let's not be too generous with our transfusion. . . .Our Annual General Meeting must always have a core of delegates who are familiar with A.T.A. policy and can foresee the effects of proposed changes in policy brought before the Annual General Meeting.¹⁶

In practice, the Annual General Meeting listens to the reports of the President, the Executive Secretary, and various Committees. These reports are reviews of the work of the Association for the past year. A further feature is the passing of the budget for the forthcoming year. The main order of business, however, is connected with the disposition of the various resolutions submitted by the Locals or by the Executive Council. The customary procedure is to have the President move the

¹⁵Clarke, op. cit., p. 1.

¹⁶A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 37, No. 10, p. 20.

resolution and to have the Vice-President second the motion. Various speakers then discuss the resolution with the first speaker usually being from the group which submitted the resolution. Finally, the resolution is disposed of by either approval, disapproval, tabling, or referring. In 1962, it was noted that of the forty-two main resolutions submitted, thirty-one were approved, three were disapproved, six were tabled, and two were referred. Another interesting aspect was that on almost every resolution, either a member of the present Executive Council, the past Executive Councils, or the Executive Staff spoke.¹⁷ In fact, it was apparent that these individuals carried the weight of the argument either by way of explanation or by way of concurrence or non-concurrence.

The Annual General Meeting constitutes a further step in the hierarchy of the levels of government of The Alberta Teachers' Association. It has been described as the "legislative arm of the A.T.A."¹⁸ Nonetheless, the minutes for 1962 indicate that certain individuals of the Executive Council or the Executive Staff tend to dominate the proceedings. This is not unusual in that all resolutions submitted by the Local Associations are subject to revision, interpretation and Executive Council concurrence or non-concurrence prior to their reaching the floor of the Annual General Meeting. To illustrate this effect the following item printed in the March, 1962, A.T.A. Magazine in regard to the resolutions is worthy of notation:

¹⁷The Alberta Teachers' Association, "Minutes of the 45th Annual General Meeting, 1962" (mimeographed), pp. 32-52.

¹⁸A.T.A. Handbook, op. cit., p. 215.

This material is confidential and the information contained herein is for the use of the members of The Alberta Teachers' Association only. None of the material contained in these resolutions may be reproduced, either in whole or in part, except on the written authority of the Executive Secretary of the Association.

Some local associations may find that their resolutions have not been printed exactly as forwarded to the office under declaration. The Councillors of the local associations concerned have the right to ask that the resolution be read, as originally drafted, and/or discussed at the same time that the resolutions covering the same matter or principle are before the Annual General Meeting.

Resolutions have been amended because:

- x- they concern matters either in effect or being considered;
- x- they are similar in content to other resolutions, one of which has been printed--in these cases the Executive Council has selected the most comprehensive resolution; or
- x- "By-laws and resolutions involving the expenditure of money of the Association shall be referred to the Executive Council for recommendation or report before being presented to the Annual General Meeting."--By-law 22.¹⁹

From the above quotation it seems the Executive Council and the Executive Staff are given a certain leeway, if they so desire, in circumventing resolutions submitted by the Local Associations. The original sponsor can insist on his own wording but to what extent this has been the practice has not been determined. Formally, of course, the Executive Council has the ultimate power.

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The Executive Council constitutes the highest level in the hierarchy. "In the more day-to-day affairs the Association is governed by an Executive Council of 14 members, 10 of whom are elected by districts."²⁰ The ten who are elected are termed "district representatives" and there-

¹⁹A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 42, No. 7, p. 41.

²⁰Clarke, op. cit., p. 1.

fore are elected by the membership at large in ten, separate, geographic units of the province. There is one representative for each of the following areas: (a) north-western Alberta; (b) north-eastern Alberta; (c) Edmonton city; (d) Edmonton rural; (e) central-western Alberta; (f) central- eastern Alberta; (g) Calgary city; (h) Calgary rural; (i) south-western Alberta; and (j) south-eastern Alberta. The four other members of the Executive Council are the President, the Vice-President, the Past President, and the Executive Secretary, with this group also being referred to as the Table Officers. Both the President and the Vice-President are elected by the membership at large for the province. The Past President steps into his position automatically, whereas the Executive Secretary is appointed by the Executive Council on a long-term contractual basis. All members of the Executive Council with the exception of the Executive Secretary are entitled to vote in the meetings which are held. According to the A.T.A. By-laws, "the Executive Council shall be the executive and administrative body of the Association"²¹ but "in practice, the Executive Council meets about ten times a year for a total of seventeen days and transacts all of the immediate business of the Association."²² This procedure of meeting hardly determines the executive and administrative functions of the Executive Council. There must, of necessity, be a great deal of information and research involved in initiating, executing, and administering policy. With the time factor of ten meetings involved, it is likely that the "day-to-day" business of

²¹A.T.A. By-laws, op. cit., Section 24.

²²Clarke, op. cit., p. 1.

the Association might not really be handled by the District Representatives who are scattered in ten different parts of the province.

In 1962-63, the District Representatives had an average of 47.7 years in age and had an average of 23.2 years in teaching experience. Of these ten Representatives, seven were males and all held at least one degree. Eight of the ten held some administrative position in teaching: four were principals, two were department heads, one was a vice-principal and one was a Dean of Girls. Two were regular classroom teachers. The mean salary was \$8,945.50. All of them had some marked and lengthy experience in the affairs of The Alberta Teachers' Association at various levels of government before assuming this higher office. District Representatives ordinarily hold their positions for terms of two years with half the positions expiring in an alternate manner in order to assure some continuity. Re-election is permitted and is not uncommon.

THE TABLE OFFICERS

The Table Officers, four in number, usually deal with all immediate problems coming before the Executive Council prior to the meeting of this Council. In dealing with these problems, it is usual for the Table Officers to make certain recommendations as to the disposition of various matters. In this way they act as a screening body for the Executive Council. For example, this writer asked the Association for permission to have access to the files on the teachers. The matter was first dealt with by the Table Officers who made a recommendation to the forthcoming meeting of the Executive Council. Subsequently, the writer received a letter explaining the decision of the Executive Council.

As indicated previously, the Table Officers are the President, the Vice-President, the immediate Past President, and the Executive Secretary. The last named individual does not have the right to vote. It is customary at meetings of the Table Officers to have the Assistant Executive Secretary and one other Executive Assistant according to seniority sit in on the deliberations, both without voting rights. It is evident that because of the small number of times of meeting and because of the more complicated nature of the business of the Association requiring research, planning, etc., most of the work must be left to the Executive Staff. It should also be mentioned that although provision is made for a substitute teacher in all cases of Executive Council and Table Officers' meetings or other work, and especially more so in regard to the duties of the President, these individuals still have an overlapping membership which necessitates their serving of two masters. They are classroom teachers, or principals, as well as A.T.A. officers. Their first full-time obligation as teachers is to the pupils and to their employing school boards and not to the Association.

A study of the Presidents of the Association who ordinarily hold office for one year as President and one year as Past President revealed that since 1917 and up to 1962-63, of the thirty-six Presidents, ten held the office for two-year periods whereas twenty-six held the office for one year. Of these Presidents, almost all had been Vice-Presidents prior to assuming the presidency and almost all had been District Representatives prior to their becoming Vice-Presidents. There were three exceptions to this process: in the case of the first President and in two cases of University professors assuming the presidency. Most of the

Presidents had exhibited a great amount of work in the affairs of The Alberta Teachers' Association at other subsidiary levels of government. A certain amount of visibility did accrue before an individual became Vice-President or President. The visibility in the cases of the University professors would have been achieved in other channels of education.

Of the thirty-six different Presidents to date, two have been women. The average age of the Past Presidents at the time of ascendancy to office was 42.9 years and the average teaching experience was 17.2 years. Fifty-five per cent were principals, 29 per cent classroom teachers, three per cent were vice-principals, and three per cent were University professors at the time of election. The mean salaries at the time of assuming office could not be ascertained.

Again, although this level of government suggests a further step in the hierarchy, it is one of influence and recommendation rather than one of constitutional right. The small amount of time spent in sessions and the overlapping interests of the incumbents would suggest that in many instances the Table Officers were figure-heads as official spokesmen for the Association. Their first obligations would be in the direction of their pupils and their employers.

THE EXECUTIVE STAFF

"There is a Staff of seven staff officers and eighteen office employees to enable the Association to administer policy."²³ A description of the seven staff officers as to job specifications, actual

²³Clarke, op. cit., p. 1.

incumbents, etc., constitutes a subsequent chapter of this study and no further description of this group is made here.

THE STANDING COMMITTEES

"There are a number of standing committees of the Executive Council which make recommendations for decision and action. These include curriculum, discipline, finances, pension, pension grievance, scholarship and loan, and resolutions."²⁴ In a study of these committees in operation in the year 1962-63, it was determined that it is not unusual that either the District Representatives or other members of the Executive Council or Executive Assistants be appointed. In fact, these individuals constituted the majority of the membership of the various committees. The balance of the membership on the various committees typically consists of past District Representatives or past Table Officers, and the remaining members are teachers at large.

Still other committees have been described as follows:

The Association is also represented on a number of Department of Education Committees as follows: Audio-Visual Aids, Board of Teacher Education and Certification, Elementary Curriculum, General Curriculum, High School Curriculum, High School Entrance Examinations Board, Joint Committee to Coordinate University and High School Curricula, Junior High School Curriculum, Kindergarten, Provincial Committee on Accreditation, and Radio-Television.²⁵

Again, appointments to these committees are made by the Executive Council and typically are either present or past members of the Executive Council or members of the Executive Staff.

According to the Executive Secretary of the Association:

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

A.T.A. representation on other committees includes: Advisory Committee on Private Schools and Colleges, Alberta Advisory Committee on Educational Research, Alberta Driver Education Committee, Alberta Educational Council, A.S.T.A./A.T.A. Joint Committee, Board of Administrators of the Teachers' Retirement Fund, Co-ordinating Committee, C.T.F. Board of Directors, Evaluations Committee, Faculty of Education Council, In-Service Education Committee, and the Leadership Course for School Principals.²⁶

As in the instances of the standing committees, ad hoc committees, and Departmental Committees, the appointments are made by the Executive Council and typically are present or past members of the Executive Council or permanent staff members. There is a peer group relationship involved which is illustrated by Table II.

TABLE II
STANDING AND OTHER COMMITTEES OF THE A.T.A.

Number of Committees	35	Percentage
Total Membership	137	100
Number from permanent Staff	28	20.5
Number from present Executive Council	41	29.9
Number from past Executive Councils	28	20.5
Others	40	29.1

Table II shows that 70.9 per cent of the membership on the various committees comes from the permanent staff, the present Executive Council and the past Executive Councils. In practice, these Committees are an extension of the legislative and executive duties of the Association

²⁶Clarke, op. cit., p. 2.

because of a necessary division of labor and the necessity of either imposing controls or sanctions or the creating of new rules and regulations.

For example, in 1961, one of the committees worked on a revision of the A.T.A. Code of Ethics. After this committee set up a new code, it was brought before the Annual General Meeting in 1962 for a clause-by-clause interpretation. Some clauses were deleted, but the majority of the clauses were accepted and incorporated into a new code of conduct.²⁷ This was an illustration of how a committee was able to exercise a legislative function.

SUMMARY OF THE PROVINCIAL ORGANIZATION

In 1962, the Executive Secretary of The Alberta Teachers' Association described the provincial organization of the Association as follows: "This framework is designed for and suited to the initiation, discussion, adoption, and implementation of policy."²⁸ Nonetheless, it remains imperative that the major levels of government in The Alberta Teachers' Association be compared on the basis of the year, 1962-63, as to the individuals involved and therefore as to their representativeness as to certain factors in contrast to the attributes of the overall membership. Table III summarizes this comparison omitting the Executive Staff. Formally, any member in good standing in The Alberta Teachers' Association is eligible to be elected to any one of the offices in the

²⁷"Minutes of the 45th Annual General Meeting, 1962," op. cit., pp. 12-23.

²⁸Clarke, op. cit., p. 3.

TABLE III

A COMPARISON OF THE LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT IN THE A.T.A. BASED ON SIX FACTORS FOR THE YEAR 1962-63

Level of Gov't	Average Age in Years	Average Number of Years of Teaching Experience	Percentage of Males	Percentage of Principals	Percentage with Degrees	Average Salary
Membership	39.2	11.5	32	8	29	\$5504.64
Local Pres.	39.6	13.7	90	48	71	\$7732.51
Local Sec.	39.6	12.9	54	12	44	\$6209.72
A.G.M. Councillors	40.6	14.8	81	32	71	\$7606.71
District Reps.	47.7	23.2	70	50	100	\$8945.50
Past Pres. of Central Assoc.	42.9	17.2	95	55	70	Unavailable

organization of the Association. However, in practice it would seem from Table III that the Association does not choose just any member. For example, according to Table III, the individuals in office would be around 41.6 years of age. This is not a marked deviation from the average age of the membership. Also, they would have at least twelve years of teaching experience and with the exception of the A.G.M. Councillors this is not a marked departure from the average number of years of teaching experience of the membership. However, in comparing the officers to the membership as to sex, it is evident that the administration of the affairs of the Association is largely in the hands of the males, whereas the general membership consists largely of females. Also, in order to administer the affairs of The Alberta Teachers' Association, the individuals running for office would have had some previous experience in administration and would also have degrees. The average salary differential further emphasizes this concern for some sort of prestige because the salaries are higher.

It might be stated then that the administration of the affairs of The Alberta Teachers' Association in the levels of government thus far compared (the Executive Staff is left to a subsequent chapter) is in the hands of individuals who are not really representative of the membership at large in at least four of the six factors used for comparison. This feature is probably due to the twin facts in organization of "visibility" and "prestige", with both of these qualities being important aspects of enhancing the status of the teaching profession as a collectivity. It would hardly be proper to have, as an extreme example, a President of The Alberta Teachers' Association who had only one year of training and

no teaching experience. Such an individual must meet and be prepared to meet representatives of other groups such as the Department of Education, the Provincial Government, the Faculty of Education, etc., where some signs of equality over and beyond "man-to-man" equality should be evident. This does not mean that such an example is not possible. However, by being consistent with the above evidence, it would seem that the affairs of the Association are in the hands of rather select personnel. An active minority is in non-formal control at every level of government over and beyond the membership at large. The ascendancy of University professors to the Presidency suggests a "figure-head" relationship or other things and further may lend credence to the hypothesis that an active minority controls all levels of government. Subsequent chapters attempt to show that even these active minorities are controlled in large measure by another active minority, namely, the permanent Executive Staff.

THE OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

The Alberta Teachers' Association has many publications and a listing of all of these would not be ^wtenous to this study. The concern was with the major publication--the A.T.A. Magazine. However, mention should be made of certain other publications which had relevancy to this study. These latter publications are the following: (a) the A.T.A. Handbook which is the official handbook of the Association; (b) the A.T.A. Policy Handbook which contains the up-to-date policy statements of the Association; (c) the A.T.A. Economic Handbook which has a restricted distribution and contains information for economic policy

committees and negotiating committees; and (d) the Collective Bargaining Brochure, another publication with restricted distribution that is revised yearly and is a resumé of procedures and policies involved in collective bargaining.

The A.T.A. Magazine is an on-going publication since 1920 and contains a great deal of relevant information and therefore is treated intensively. At the very outset of the publication of the A.T.A. Magazine, the following statement was made by the General Secretary in 1920:

"As the official organ of the A.T.A. this magazine will be controlled at all times and in all matters of policy by the Executive. . . .The matter dealt with will at times, no doubt, partake of the nature of propaganda" ²⁹ More recently, however, the emphasis has been that the A.T.A. Magazine is the official organ of The Alberta Teachers' Association and therefore reflects Association policy. Typically, ten issues of the magazine are published every year and "magazine content continues to be determined in part by requirements of policy, Association by-laws or tradition, but an effort has been made in the last year (1961-62) to publish more articles of interest to career teachers." ³⁰ The usual sections in the magazine are: (a) the Editorial; (b) the President's column; (c) the Executive Secretary's Report; (d) Departmental topics; (e) Informational articles; (f) Announcements; (g) Question-and-Answer section; (h) the A.T.A. newsbeat; (i) Book reviews; (j) Advertising.

²⁹ A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 3.

³⁰ A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 42, No. 9, p. 20.

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As far as reflecting Association policy is concerned, the Editorial, the Secretary's Report, and the President's Column proved to be most definitive. According to the General Secretary writing in 1957: "Editorials are designed to reflect Association policy. . .,"³¹ but more recently in 1959, the Executive Secretary partially qualified this statement by writing: "Editorial writing is a highly personalized activity and reflects within the bounds of Association policy the views of the editor."³² Notwithstanding this partial qualification, this writer has taken the stand that the editorials are reflections of A.T.A. policy because the editor is usually either the General Secretary or his immediate Assistant, both members of the permanent Executive Staff. Both the Secretary's Report and the President's Column definitely reflect A.T.A. policy. This does not mean that these articles reflect the opinions of the rank and file of the Association at all times.

In 1961-62, the total number of copies of the A.T.A. Magazine published was 163,700 making for an average number of 16,370 copies per issue. Publication was on the tenth day of each month of the year omitting the months of July and August. The average number of pages per issue was 62.8 and the average printed space per page in square inches was 35.6. Advertising matter averaged 7.2 pages per issue. Only sixteen articles were included in this ten-month period which had been authored by individuals living outside of Alberta.

The A.T.A. Magazine primarily is an instrument of disseminating

³¹A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 37, No. 9, p. 15.

³²A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 39, No. 10, p. 44.

internal propaganda so designed as to be of interest to the rank and file of teachers. The various articles are either informational or expressions of "kite-flying" by the Executive Staff or Executive Council. In this latter respect, four editorials in 1961-62 dealt with the threat of overloading classrooms--having more than twenty-five pupils per teacher per classroom. It would seem that in each of these editorials, the teachers reading them were expected to concur with the stand of the editor that having more than twenty-five pupils per classroom was a threat to teacher work load, pupil achievement, etc. This was one of the definite examples of where the editor, a permanent staff member, was attempting to emphasize and to reaffirm the policy of the Association's leaders generally. Other examples to substantiate this point may be found and constitute further study in later chapters. By 1962-63, research was carried out on the topic of overload of classrooms and pupil achievement. From the tenor of the editorials leading to the research and to action, it was apparent what the results would be.

Essentially then, the A.T.A. Magazine is an organ of great influence in the control of the Association. It is in the hands of the Executive Staff through the editor and as such is being used: (a) as a sounding board for rank and file opinion; but primarily (b) as an instrument for moulding that rank and file opinion.

THE FINANCIAL STATUS OF THE A.T.A.

In an examination of the financial statement of The Alberta Teachers' Association--Table IV--for the year ending December 31, 1961, and in a comparison of it to the financial statement for 1920-21, which appears

TABLE IV
STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE FOR YEAR
ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1961³³

Revenue:		
Fees--less transferred to <u>A.T.A. Magazine</u>	435,925.29	
Investment earnings	29,456.60	
Rentals	6,775.04	
Sale of Handbooks	1,556.25	
Mimeographing Charges	240.60	
Magazine advertising	16,653.75	
Magazine subscriptions	<u>29,125.90</u>	
		519,733.43
Expenditure:		
Administration	186,171.36	
Barnett House	15,042.65	
Economic Welfare	25,250.79	
Professional Development	59,582.35	
Teacher Education and Certification	782.79	
The <u>A.T.A. Magazine</u>	46,836.34	
Miscellaneous	<u>20,631.53</u>	
		354,297.81
	Net Surplus	165,435.62

later in this study, it is evident that the Association has come a long way financially from its initial status. The bulk of the revenue or 83.8 per cent still is obtained through membership dues which are now assessed on a three-point sliding scale according to the gross earnings of the member as a teacher. On the other hand, even though the major expenditure is for administration--52.5 per cent of the expenses were incurred in this area--now this administration is primarily concerned with maintaining the

³³A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 42, No. 9, p. 56.

organization as such. In 1920-21, the administration was primarily concerned with selling the idea of a professional organization and inducing members to join. The costs of internal communications--the publication and distribution of the A.T.A. Magazine--seem to be almost paid for in toto by the revenue derived from advertising and subscriptions. Economic welfare takes 7.1 per cent of the total expenditures which is considerably more than in 1920-21.

A relatively new area of endeavour is the one of professional development, which because it constitutes 16.8 per cent of the total expenditure, suggests that the Association has implemented a succession of goals greatly removed from the original idea of militancy which pervaded its earlier efforts. The question remains as to what does the Association do in case there is an incursion of its rights by other groups or in case there is perceived an implied threat to these rights? An answer may be in a study of the trust fund reserves which show that \$401,961.86 of these reserves has been set aside for cases of special emergency.³⁴ The trust fund reserves amount to \$656,540.00 with various amounts being ear-marked for special projects, but the fact still remains that 61.2 per cent of the reserves is in reality designed to prevent incursions on the status of the teachers' organization as viewed by the leaders. The financing of strike action from this fund would be an expression of an effort to prevent such an incursion. In 1961, the special emergency fund received an appropriation of \$50,000 so that if this rate of allocation should continue, the fund could easily double itself in the near future.

³⁴Ibid., p. 53.

The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the progress of the work done during the year. It is followed by a detailed account of the various projects and the results achieved. The report concludes with a summary of the work done and a list of the names of the persons who have been engaged in the work.

The second part of the report deals with the financial statement of the year. It shows the income and expenditure of the organization and the balance sheet at the end of the year. It also shows the details of the various projects and the results achieved. The report concludes with a summary of the work done and a list of the names of the persons who have been engaged in the work.

Report of the
Committee

The net surplus of \$165,435.62 derived from the yearly operations of the Association was allocated into various projects as follows:

To trust fund reserves--per by-laws	\$13,000.00
To trust fund reserves--Investment earnings	20,000.00
To trust fund reserves--per A.G.M.	30,000.00
To construction	40,000.00
To unallocated surplus--balance remaining	<u>62,435.62</u>
	\$165,435.62 ³⁵

The overall picture of the finances of The Alberta Teachers' Association shows an economic solvency as well as the disposal of more and more of the revenues into other channels such as professional development. The "mutual benefit" objects of the Association may be gradually receding into the background. But a look at the salaries of the Executive Staff and the office help would point to the fact that this expenditure of \$109,784.45 in 1961 took care of 59 per cent of the administration expenses. Just running the organization is costly.³⁶

THE FORMAL ACTIVITIES OF THE A.T.A.

The Alberta Teachers' Association has become concerned with many educational activities. To a large extent the Association takes part in these activities on a representative basis with the representation being chosen mostly from the active minority. The major activities of the Association may be grouped into two categories: (a) maintenance of the organization, and (b) promotion of the newer goals of the Association. In the former category could be placed such activities as (a) the publications;

³⁵Ibid., p. 56.

³⁶"Minutes of the 45th Annual General Meeting, 1962", op. cit., p. 7.

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(b) the administration; (c) the financing of the organization; and (d) the miscellaneous items such as golf tournaments, bonspiels, building projects, induction ceremonies, credit union, etc. In the latter category could be placed such items as: (a) professional development which includes the principals' leadership course, the Banff work-shop, the subject specialist councils, committee work to a great extent, certain conferences, research, scholarships and loans, etc.; and (b) Economic welfare which would include collective bargaining control, grievance settlements, disciplinary action, economic seminars, certain kinds of research, briefs to the legislature, etc.

Although the above categorizations may be broad, they reflect the nature and the scope of the activities of the Association, and to some degree, the avenues wherein the Association may be influential. Notwithstanding the fact that active minorities are in non-formal control of the activities, the leaders of the Association are perturbed by the supposed lack of membership interest. There have been serious attempts in recent years to suggest remedies for this apathy. It is the writer's contention that the lack of membership interest is one of the facts of organizations in general and as such need not be too perturbing to the leaders.

SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

This chapter was an attempt to illustrate the formal organization of The Alberta Teachers' Association through an examination of the hierarchical levels of government, the internal communications aspect, the finances of the Association, and some of the formal activities. In the first place, the hypothesis that the various levels of government over and beyond the

rank and file membership are under the non-formal control of an active minority with certain characteristics which are not really commensurate with the characteristics of the membership has been largely substantiated by empirical measures. Although the most recent year was taken as the example, an examination of prior years suggests that the original theory is supported.

In the second place, seven major concepts have been derived about the Association which may be applicable to organizations in general, namely: (a) the Association's leaders are primarily concerned with the maintenance of the organization as such; (b) the Association's leaders are concerned with the dissemination of internal communications to a great extent; (c) the Association's leaders are concerned with being monetarily prepared in case of an emergency; (d) the Association's leaders are looking towards other goal implementation presumably to maintain interest and cohesiveness in the organization; (e) that a certain modus operandi exists in regard to moulding rank and file opinion; (f) that the present status of the Association is one which suggests efficiency in its dealings with the rank and file and concern with the welfare of the rank and file who belong to this mutual-benefit group; and (g) the leadership at the various levels of government in the Association comes from the individuals who are principals, have a degree, are male, and have a fairly high salary.

CHAPTER VI

THE EXECUTIVE STAFF OF THE ALBERTA TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

The basic purpose of this chapter is to examine the role of the permanent Executive Staff as a level of government in The Alberta Teachers' Association. This examination was approached both from the objective side--from the amount and direction of their influence in various areas of Association decision--and from the subjective side--from the work experience of the Executive Staff and their own conceptions of their roles.

Essentially, the Executive Staff were described by this writer as "experts" and the two criteria used for their identification were: (a) they are employed staff members responsible to elected officials in a formal manner and work full time in the headquarters of The Alberta Teachers' Association; and (b) they are knowledgeable individuals in the sense that they bring to the job a body of specialized information and skill acquired either through formal education or training and experience on the job, or both.

As shown in the previous chapter, The Alberta Teachers' Association is typically influenced by an active minority at all levels of government and this non-formal control is expressed in a shift in power away from the Local and the rank and file towards a centralization of policy control at the top of the provincial organization, accompanied by a growing chasm in regard to certain characteristics between the leaders and the rank and file. However, the active minority at the Executive Council level of government is continually faced with a battery of political pressures from

various other groups and agencies. These major pressures may come from: (a) the rank and file and the officials at the lower levels of the organization; (b) the provincial government--the legislature, its administrative agencies, and political parties; (c) employers and employer associations--the Alberta School Trustees' Association; and (d) other interest groups such as the Home and School Association, the University Women's Group, etc. In many instances areas of disagreement may arise which, taken over a long period of time, suggest that the various groups would be forced to adopt some means of accommodation simply to sustain relationships. Therefore, conflict and its concomitant of accommodation over a sustained period of time tends to shape both the internal and external relations of the Association and is evidenced in the creation of a demand for specialists in accommodative techniques. A permanent staff of experts must be employed in order to sustain the relationships of The Alberta Teachers' Association with the aforementioned groups in the body politic. As the Association grew larger and relationships became more numerous and complex, more staff experts were required.

A further reason for the need of the "expert" is inherent in the very nature of the organization. The elected leaders at all levels of Association government are on a part-time basis with divided loyalties. For example, a District Representative meets the other District Representatives in formal sessions approximately ten times a year. His responsibility is often divided between the affairs of the Association and his pupils in the classroom. Because of the infrequent nature of the meetings which require research, information, etc., and because of his classroom responsibilities, the District Representative must rely on the permanent staff of the

The first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one. It is a complex system, and the complexity is not only in the number of components, but also in the way they are connected. The second is the fact that the system is not a static one. It is a dynamic system, and the dynamics are not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The third is the fact that the system is not a linear one. It is a non-linear system, and the non-linearity is not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The fourth is the fact that the system is not a deterministic one. It is a stochastic system, and the stochasticity is not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The fifth is the fact that the system is not a simple one. It is a complex system, and the complexity is not only in the number of components, but also in the way they are connected. The sixth is the fact that the system is not a static one. It is a dynamic system, and the dynamics are not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The seventh is the fact that the system is not a linear one. It is a non-linear system, and the non-linearity is not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The eighth is the fact that the system is not a deterministic one. It is a stochastic system, and the stochasticity is not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The ninth is the fact that the system is not a simple one. It is a complex system, and the complexity is not only in the number of components, but also in the way they are connected. The tenth is the fact that the system is not a static one. It is a dynamic system, and the dynamics are not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The eleventh is the fact that the system is not a linear one. It is a non-linear system, and the non-linearity is not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The twelfth is the fact that the system is not a deterministic one. It is a stochastic system, and the stochasticity is not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The thirteenth is the fact that the system is not a simple one. It is a complex system, and the complexity is not only in the number of components, but also in the way they are connected. The fourteenth is the fact that the system is not a static one. It is a dynamic system, and the dynamics are not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The fifteenth is the fact that the system is not a linear one. It is a non-linear system, and the non-linearity is not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The sixteenth is the fact that the system is not a deterministic one. It is a stochastic system, and the stochasticity is not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The seventeenth is the fact that the system is not a simple one. It is a complex system, and the complexity is not only in the number of components, but also in the way they are connected. The eighteenth is the fact that the system is not a static one. It is a dynamic system, and the dynamics are not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The nineteenth is the fact that the system is not a linear one. It is a non-linear system, and the non-linearity is not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The twentieth is the fact that the system is not a deterministic one. It is a stochastic system, and the stochasticity is not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time.

Association for advice, counsel, and direction. This reliance would be even more apparent in the cases of new District Representatives. There is a basic division of labor involved which necessitates the reliance of the Executive Council, and other levels of government as well, on the permanent Executive Staff. In times of crucial decisions, this kind of reliance seems to become paramount.

To explore the question of Executive Staff control of the Association, four areas have been examined, namely: (a) the Executive Staff functions, both manifest and latent; (b) the Executive Staff incumbents in the year, 1962-63; (c) the distinctive job content for each Executive Staff member using the terms "Executive Secretary", "Assistant Executive Secretary" and the letters "A, B, C, D, and E" to indicate the "Executive Assistants"; and (d) the typology of the duties of the Executive Staff by viewing the nature of the influence introduced by the presence of a permanent Executive Staff.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE STAFF

The formal functions which are manifested by the Executive Staff of The Alberta Teachers' Association have been described by Figure 2. From Figure 2 it may be gathered that these manifest formal functions of the Executive Staff and their office help were grouped into the following categories: (a) special projects; (b) grievances; (c) publications including the A.T.A. Magazine; (d) liaison; (e) economic welfare which includes both collective bargaining and pensions; (f) administration of the Association; (g) administration of the office; (h) professional development; (i) teacher education and certification; (j) research; and (k) public relations. Each

of these functions means the assignment of Executive Staff members for its accomplishment and is now described briefly.

(a) Special Projects

According to the Executive Secretary: "Any one special project does not recur annually but over the years sufficient new special projects occur that in any one year several are in process."¹ Examples of special projects carried out by the Executive Staff are: (a) the Professional Load Study in 1961; (b) the study of Accreditation; (c) representation of a Brief to the Cameron Commission in 1958, etc. Either the projects are carried out by the Executive Staff alone or in cooperation with outside experts.

(b) Grievances

This function of head office may be typified by the investigation of grievances related to such matters as salary, tenure involving dismissals or terminations of designation, professional relations, and discipline cases. In many instances on-the-spot inquiries must be carried out by the Staff and appropriate reports submitted.

(c) Publications

These were dealt with previously but basically they involve such matters as editing, layout, printing, and production. In regard to the A.T.A. Magazine, the publication function involves editing manuscripts, deciding which are to be published and primarily, the writing of the Editorial, the A.T.A. Newsbeat, the Secretary's Report, the Teachers in the

¹S. C. T. Clarke, "Organization of ATA Head Office, 1962," (Mimeographed), p. 4.

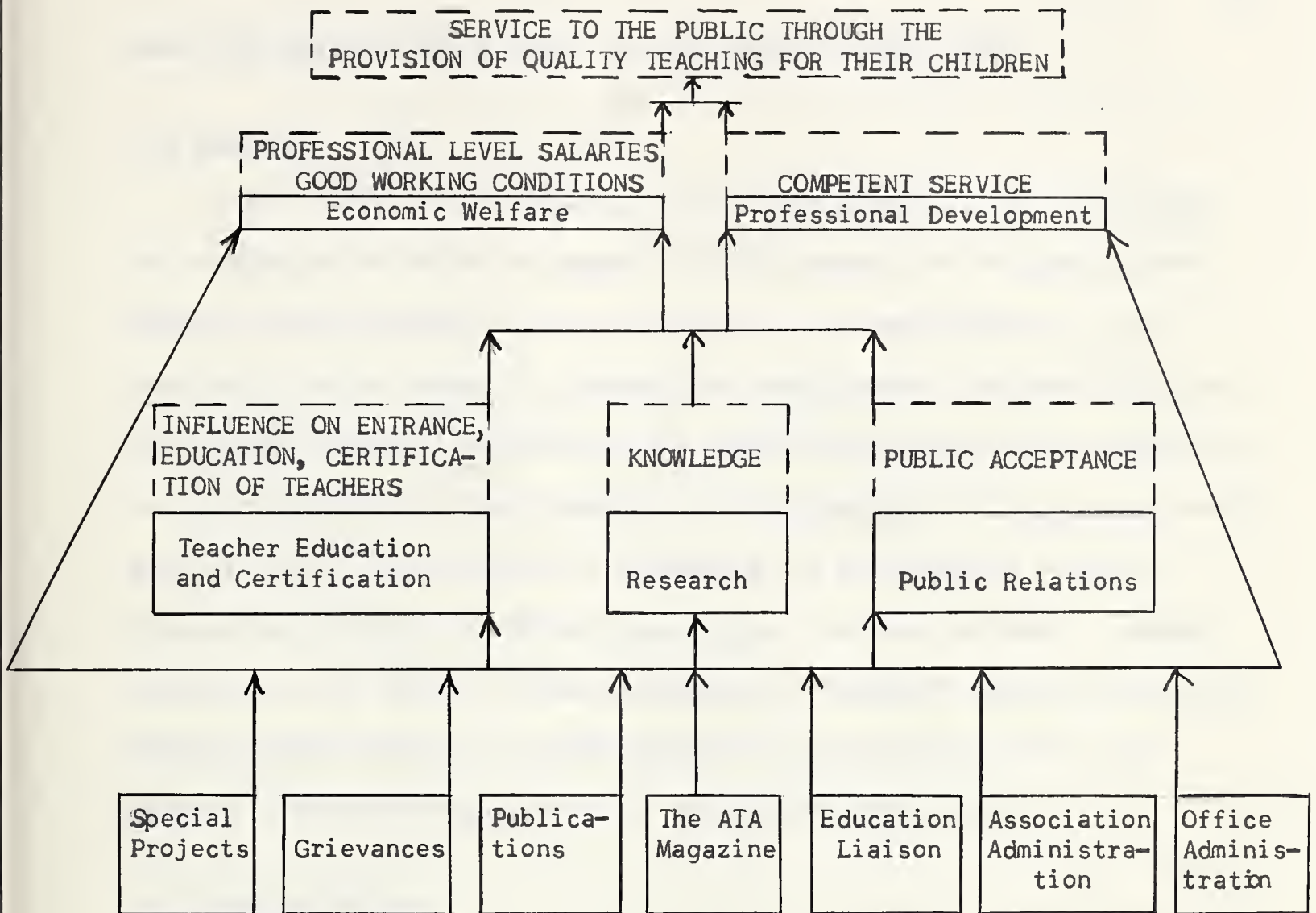


FIGURE 2

ORGANIZATION OF ATA HEAD OFFICE BY OBJECTIVES AND FUNCTIONS²

Objectives of the ATA (dotted boxes)
Related to functions (solid boxes)

²Ibid., p. 1.

News, the Question and Answer, the President's Column, etc.

(d) Liaison

The liaison function may be carried out either by the preparation and submission of briefs to support A.T.A. proposals or to counter proposals of other groups, or by attendance at, and participation in the meetings of other groups. In respect of these groups, the head office of The Alberta Teachers' Association may prepare the proposals for changes in legislation which are then submitted to the government. Other groups dealt with by either participation or attendance are the Canadian Teachers' Federation, the Home and School Association, the Alberta School Trustees' Association, the Western Canada Conference of Teachers' Organizations, the Western Canada Conference on Teacher Education and Certification, the Canadian Education Association, and the Editors' Conference.

(e) Economic Welfare

This function centers on collective bargaining and pensions. In regard to the former aspect which is dealt with in more detail in subsequent chapters of this study, the Executive Secretary of The Alberta Teachers' Association has outlined the work of head office as follows:

1. Consultation with local negotiating teams by telephone, letter, meetings in Barnett House, and meetings in the field;
2. Consultations about insurance;
3. Bargaining Agent--preparation of briefs, presentation before Conciliation Commissioner and Conciliation Board;
4. Banff Seminar: organize, lead, participate;
5. Area Briefing Schools: organize, lead, participate;
6. Urban Briefing Schools: organize, lead, participate;
7. Consultant Seminars: organize, lead, participate;
8. Area negotiation conferences: organize, lead, participate;
9. Prepare, revise, distribute Economic Handbook;
10. Prepare, edit, distribute "Economic Bulletins";

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11. Communications system re Economic report from locals--news gathering and disseminating on progress of negotiations;

12. Liaison---

(i) Annual salary conferences of other teacher organizations, e.g., B.C., N.S., Sask., U.S.A.

(ii) Special Conferences, e.g., Syracuse Merit Pay, N.E.A. Centennial.³

In regard to the latter aspect of pensions, the functions of head office include the following:

1. Study and recommend revision of pension law and by-laws, e.g., supplementary allowances, reciprocal pensions;
2. Propose and supervise pension supplement for some retired prior to 1960;
3. Receive, investigate, deal with pension grievances;
4. Provide services of secretary-treasurer, Teachers' Retirement Fund;
5. Liaison--
 - (i) reciprocal pensions
 - (ii) regular pension conference⁴

(f) Administration of the Association

In this function the work of head office is great and varied. It involves such things as preparing the budget, keeping accounts, collecting fees, processing expense accounts, examining local constitutions, etc. Elections and electoral ballot disposition are looked after by head office as are revisions of the Policy Handbook and the A.T.A. Handbook. Also, arrangements are made for the Annual General Meeting and regional conferences as to suggestions for agenda, scheduling of dates, places, and persons.

(g) Administration of the Office

The head office is administered by the Executive Staff and the duties involved in this function range from the hiring, promotion, allocation of

³Ibid., p. 6.

⁴Ibid., p. 7.

1. The first part of the report is devoted to a general survey of the situation in the country.

2. The second part of the report is devoted to a detailed analysis of the economic situation in the country.

3. The third part of the report is devoted to a detailed analysis of the social situation in the country.

4. The fourth part of the report is devoted to a detailed analysis of the cultural situation in the country.

5. The fifth part of the report is devoted to a detailed analysis of the political situation in the country.

6. The sixth part of the report is devoted to a detailed analysis of the international situation in the country.

7. The seventh part of the report is devoted to a detailed analysis of the future prospects of the country.

8. The eighth part of the report is devoted to a detailed analysis of the conclusions and recommendations.

9. The ninth part of the report is devoted to a detailed analysis of the appendixes.

10. The tenth part of the report is devoted to a detailed analysis of the bibliography.

11. The eleventh part of the report is devoted to a detailed analysis of the index.

12. The twelfth part of the report is devoted to a detailed analysis of the list of abbreviations.

13. The thirteenth part of the report is devoted to a detailed analysis of the list of symbols.

14. The fourteenth part of the report is devoted to a detailed analysis of the list of tables.

15. The fifteenth part of the report is devoted to a detailed analysis of the list of figures.

16. The sixteenth part of the report is devoted to a detailed analysis of the list of maps.

17. The seventeenth part of the report is devoted to a detailed analysis of the list of photographs.

18. The eighteenth part of the report is devoted to a detailed analysis of the list of illustrations.

19. The nineteenth part of the report is devoted to a detailed analysis of the list of references.

20. The twentieth part of the report is devoted to a detailed analysis of the list of sources.

duties, and supervision of office help and maintenance help to the purchasing of supplies and equipment and general machine maintenance.

(h) Professional Development

This function may be typified by the work of the Executive Staff in the following areas: (a) subject specialist councils; (b) field services; (c) library purchases; (d) conventions; (e) scholarships and loans; (f) induction ceremonies; (g) curriculum improvement; and (h) the publication of a professional development bulletin. One of the more recent ventures has been the fostering of subject specialist councils within the province. Head office duties in respect of these councils have been described as follows:

- (a) Act as liaison for Executive Council to foster growth and development;
- (b) Organize and administer specialist council seminars;
- (c) Advise on timing and production of publications;
- (d) Foster regional councils;
- (e) Assist in annual meeting;
- (f) Encourage and assist summer conferences; and
- (g) Coordination.⁵

(i) Teacher Education and Certification

Besides attending meetings and serving on committees of the Board of Teacher Education and Certification, head office personnel play an active part in organizing and promoting internship programs for teachers and informal channels of communication with the Dean of Education and the Faculty of Education of the University of Alberta. In this latter respect, attendance by certain Executive Staff members at meetings of the Faculty Council is imperative.

⁵Ibid., p. 8.

(j) Research

The duties of head office personnel involved in this function begin with being sensitive to the need for worthwhile research projects and proceed to the designing of studies, collection of data, the supervision of the analysis, and the writing up of research projects. Monographs, articles, brochures, and other tangible evidence are published as a means of disseminating the information thus gained.

(k) Public Relations

This function, of necessity, has grown considerably in its ramifications within the past decade or so. Not only are other groups in society dealt with, but also the extent of public relations is manifested in the advising and assisting of Locals in developing their own public relations programs. More specific examples of work done by the Executive Staff in the area of public relations range from the arrangement of press releases and press, radio and television coverage of special occasions to the arrangement of the annual dinner for the Members of the Legislature and the selection of gifts and cards at Christmas or other occasions as required.

SUMMARY OF THE FUNCTIONS

It is obvious from the above examination of the functions of the Executive Staff that their duties are many, varied, and on-going in regard to the sustaining of relationships between The Alberta Teachers' Association and the other interest groups in society and consequently the sustaining of relationships amongst the various levels of government in the Association itself. Moreover, the description is one of manifest functions, but it is

The first of the three points to be noted is that the
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apparent that ample leeway exists for the Executive Staff to exercise the latent functions of influence and control. This is no more clearly delineated than in the overt reference by the Executive Secretary to where the head office is called upon to "organize, lead, and participate" or "to foster". In fact, head office personnel would be the first individuals to assess their work as "running the organization" and from the examination of their functions this may be the case.

THE PRESENT PERSONNEL OF THE EXECUTIVE STAFF

The present Executive Staff consists of seven members, all of whom were former school teachers in good standing. The average age of the Executive Staff is 47.1 years and the average teaching experience prior to assuming office was 17.4 years. With one exception, they had at one time or another, been in administration: they had been either principals or vice-principals of schools of varying sizes and in various locations. One member had eight years of teaching experience in a University and another member had four years of teaching experience in a Junior College. Again, with one exception, they all hold one or more degrees ranging from B.Ed. through M.Ed. to Ed.D. The average salary at present is \$12,714.30. All of them had a great deal of varied experience in the affairs of the Association at various levels of government prior to their being appointed to permanent office. Three of them had been District Representatives on the Executive Council, and one had been a former President of the Association. The average length of service as permanent staff members up to 1963 is approximately six years so that most of them have had ample time and opportunity to become experienced in the business of administering the

organization from head office. Again, in regard to academic qualifications, the Executive Secretary is an outstanding example in that he holds one bachelor's degree, two master's degrees, and a doctorate. It was also noted that all of the incumbents are male. Nearly all of them have demonstrated a certain amount of visibility in that at an early date in their careers, they were writing articles for the A.T.A. Magazine and in some cases for other periodicals related to educational matters. In all cases, they have come "up from the ranks" and could in no way be considered "outsiders". They are all very familiar with the Alberta system of Education having worked in it. Two of them have had extensive course work in educational administration. The majority of them, it is assumed, have attempted quite successfully to learn administration on the job.

JOB CONTENT OF THE EXECUTIVE STAFF

In a study of the job content of each member of the Executive Staff, it was immediately apparent that a two-fold relationship existed. In the first place, an hierarchy of membership was evident in that the Executive Secretary was the top official, the Assistant Executive Secretary next, and the Executive Assistants coming in order of year of appointment to the Staff. In the second place, there was an hierarchy of duties stemming from the hierarchy of membership and also there was quite an overlapping of duties. In the former case, the hierarchy of duties meant the attendance of the Executive Secretary at certain meetings because of his position, and in the latter case, many of the duties carried out by the Executive Secretary were also carried out by the Executive Assistants. Although there existed a latent division of labor which was manifested inadvertently in

specific instances, the division of labor was not overtly formalized.

It is proposed that before grouping the duties of the Executive Staff members into some semblance of order, the job descriptions of (a) the Executive Secretary, (b) the Assistant Executive Secretary, and (c) the other Executive Assistants in order of seniority be set out.^a

(a) The Duties of the Executive Secretary

The duties of the Executive Secretary as delineated by himself have been described as follows:

1. Under the direction of Executive Council general management of the affairs of the Association;
2. Attend all meetings of Executive Council;
3. Attend all meetings of Table Officers;
4. Office duties: write letters, answer telephone, conduct interviews, etc.;
5. Prepare briefs and work on special projects;
6. Be responsible for all grievances and assign grievances to staff;
7. Secretary to Professional Relations Commission;
8. Write A.T.A. Newsletter;
9. Edit and supervise bulletin of Home Economics Council;
10. Act as staff officer on Executive of Home Economics Council;
11. Write monographs as required;
12. Member of Legislative Committee--changes in School Act, etc.;
13. Attend C.T.F. and participate in program as requested;
14. Attend Joint Committee with Trustees;
15. Attend Western Canada Conference of Teachers' Organizations and participate in program as requested;
16. Attend Western Canada Conference on Teacher Education and Certification and participate in program as requested;
17. Attend C.E.A. and participate in program as requested;
18. Write A.T.A. Newsbeat, Secretary's Report, edit manuscripts as required;
19. Attend meetings of Board of Teacher Education and Certification; serve on committees of this Board;
20. Promote informal channels of communication with Dean and Faculty;
21. Attend meetings of Faculty of Education Council;
22. Initiate research projects, design, collect data, supervise analysis and write-up, publish monographs;

^aAll job descriptions have been kindly supplied by the Executive Secretary to the writer and were gathered from the individuals concerned.

23. Attend meetings of A.A.C.E.R. and Faculty Committee on Educational Research;
24. Committees;
25. Attend conventions and regional conferences as assigned;
26. Hold staff meetings.⁶

(b) The Duties of the Assistant Executive Secretary

The duties of the Assistant Executive Secretary have been described as follows:

1. Consult with Executive Secretary on the general management of the Association and in his absence act as Executive Secretary.
2. Be responsible for agenda, minutes, notices, and reservations for meetings of Executive Council;
3. Attend all meetings of Executive Council;
4. Attend all meetings of Table Officers;
5. Office duties: write letters, answer telephone, conduct interviews, etc.;
6. Prepare briefs and work on special projects as assigned;
7. Be responsible for salary grievances and other grievances as occasion warrants;
8. Secretary to Professional Relations Commission on occasion;
9. Edit and supervise bulletin of Industrial Arts Council;
10. Act as staff officer on executive of Industrial Arts Council;
11. General supervision of all publications;
12. Member of Legislative Committee--changes in School Act, etc.;
13. Attend Joint Committee with Trustees;
14. Attend Western Canada Conference of Teachers' Organizations and participate in program as requested;
15. Consult with local negotiating teams, assign staff and consultants in contract negotiations and contract observance disputes;
16. Act as Bargaining Agent and assign staff in the preparation and presentation of briefs;
17. Supervise and check collective agreements;
18. Organize and participate in Banff Seminar;
19. Organize and participate in area briefing schools; urban briefing schools, area negotiation conferences, and consultant seminars;
20. Prepare and edit Economic Handbook and "Economic Bulletins";
21. Organize and supervise communication system among local associations, bargaining units, economic consultants, district representatives, and head office;
22. Advise locals on group insurance;
23. Write Editorial, Question and Answer;
24. Edit articles;
25. Supervise magazine production, advertising, etc.;

⁶Ibid., pp. 12-13.

26. Attend liaison conferences with other organizations--S.T.F., N.S.T.U. editorial conferences;
27. Attend conventions and regional conferences as assigned;
28. Committees.⁷

(c) The Duties of the Executive Assistants

The duties of the five Executive Assistants have been described as follows:

(a) Executive Assistant A:

1. Attend meetings of Executive Council as required;
2. Work on special projects as assigned, e.g., Reciprocal Pensions;
3. Grievances as assigned. Discipline cases;
4. Office duties: write letters, answer telephone, hold interviews;
5. Secretary-treasurer to Pension Committee;
6. Secretary-treasurer T.R.F.;
7. With Finance Committee budget, audit, accounts, expense vouchers, fees;
8. Locals: constitutions, remit fees, collect statistics and names of officers of locals, answer queries;
9. Credit Union: keep books, assist in making loans, attend meetings of directors, supervisory committee and credit committee;
10. Organize and administer Banff Conference;
11. Prepare, distribute and process by-laws and electoral ballots;
12. Election procedures for officer and District Representative elections;
13. Annual General Meeting: reservation, banquet, speaker, entertainment, minutes;
14. Preparation of A.G.M. Handbook;
15. Preparation of Policy Handbook;
16. Preparation of A.T.A. Handbook with staff and others;
17. Supervise office: hire, promote, allocate duties of clerical staff; make recommendations to Executive re staff salaries;
18. Insurance on building, staff, etc.;
19. Barnett House: supervision of caretaking, maintenance, rentals;
20. Supplies, equipment and machines (purchase and maintenance);
21. Act as staff officer on executive of Business Education Council;
22. Arrange time, date, place, and recommend to Executive Council agenda of regional conferences;
23. Attend conventions and regional conferences as assigned;
24. Attend staff meetings;
25. Committees: Finance, Pensions, Resolutions.⁸

⁷Ibid., pp. 14-15.

⁸Ibid., pp. 16-17.

(b) Executive Assistant B:

1. Attend meetings of Executive Council as required;
2. Work on special projects as assigned, e.g., Ethics;
3. Office duties: correspondence, telephone, interviews, etc.;
4. Grievances as assigned;
5. Staff assistance in liaison to Home and School, Alberta Education Council, Principals' Leadership Course, C.E.A., Superintendents' Leadership Course as approved by Executive Council;
6. Attend Western Conference Canadian Teachers' Organizations and participate as requested;
7. General coordination of specialist councils;
8. Edit and supervise bulletin of Social Studies, Administrators, and Modern and Classical Languages Councils;
9. Act as staff officer on executives of above specialist councils;
10. Promote action research through Professional Development seminar, organizing work of Professional Development consultants, Action Research Conferences, and publishing material on the Action Research process;
11. Organize and write Professional Development Bulletin;
12. Library: order books, arrange for cataloguing, supervise handling of requests, arrange for library catalogue;
13. Secretary of A.T.A. Curriculum Committee;
14. Prepare and keep up-to-date curriculum handbook;
15. Advise and assist locals in developing Public Relations program;
16. Education Week: propose guest speaker for Executive decision, secure hall and make local arrangements with local help, send notification to locals concerned, arrange for publicity, attend banquet;
17. Arrange press, radio, and TV coverage of special occasions as required;
18. Arrange time, place, menu, invitations of M.L.A. dinner;
19. Supervise Christmas gifts and other gifts and flowers;
20. Write monographs from time to time;
21. Attend conventions and regional conferences as assigned;
22. Attend staff meetings;
23. Committees: Curriculum;
24. Attend conferences as assigned, e.g. A.S.C.D.⁹

(c) Executive Assistant C:

1. Attend meetings of Executive Council as required;
2. Work on special projects as assigned, e.g., Professional Load, Ethics, Barnett House;
3. Grievances as assigned;
4. Office duties: Correspondence, telephone, interviews, etc.
5. Staff assistance in liaison to Home and School as approved by Executive Council;
6. Attend Western Canadian Conference Teachers' Organizations and participate as requested;

⁹Ibid., pp. 18-19.

7. Supervise production of English Council publications;
8. Act as staff officer on executive of English Council;
9. Attend special conferences, e.g., Syracuse, School Buildings Conference;
10. Consult with local negotiation teams as required;
11. Act as Bargaining Agent as required;
12. Participate in Banff Seminar, Area Briefing Schools, Urban Briefing Schools, Consultant Seminars, Area Negotiation Conferences;
13. Attend staff meetings;
14. Staff photographer;
15. Edit articles for A.T.A. Magazine as requested;
16. Write monographs from time to time;
17. Attend conventions and regional conferences as assigned;
18. Committees: Pensions, Grievance.¹⁰

(d) Executive Assistant D:

1. Attend meetings of Executive Council as required;
2. Work on special projects as assigned, e.g., Brief to Health Commission;
3. Office duties: write letters, interviews, etc.;
4. Grievances as assigned;
5. Attend Western Canada Conference of Teachers' Organizations and participate as required;
6. Supervise production of Mathematics, Science, Health and Physical Education Council publications;
7. Act as staff officer on executive of above specialist councils;
8. Organize and administer Specialist Council Seminar;
9. Conventions: arrange dates, places, A.T.A. guest speakers, attend and participate;
10. Organize and administer meetings of convention secretaries and convention committees;
11. Prepare and keep up-to-date a convention handbook;
12. Act as secretary to scholarship and loan committee: process applications, insert notices in magazine and University calendar;
13. Arrange banquet for scholarship winners with Executive Council;
14. Arrange materials required for induction ceremonies, revise and keep up-to-date, assist in securing speakers;
15. Organize and promote internship by seminars for cooperating teachers, for interns, by publication for each, by working with administrators, and other ways;
16. Attend meetings of B.T.E.C. and committees as assigned;
17. Initiate research projects, design, collect data, supervise analysis and write up, publish;
18. Employ and supervise work of summer research assistant;
19. Secure manuscripts for Improvement of Instruction series;
20. Attend staff meetings;
21. Committees;
22. Attend conventions and regional conferences as assigned.¹¹

¹⁰Ibid., p. 20.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 21-22.

(e) Executive Assistant E:

1. Attend meetings of Executive Council as required;
2. Work on special projects as assigned, e.g., Teaching Profession Act;
3. Office duties: answer telephone, write letters, conduct interviews, etc.;
4. Grievances as assigned;
5. Attend Western Canada Conference of Teachers' Organizations and participate as required;
6. Supervise production of Guidance Council publication;
7. Act as staff officer on executive of Guidance Council;
8. Consult with local negotiation teams as required;
9. Act as Bargaining Agent as required;
10. Participate in Banff Seminar, Area Briefing Schools, Urban Briefing Schools, Consultant Seminars, Area Negotiation Conferences;
11. Attend conventions and regional conferences as assigned;
12. Attend teacher workshops as assigned;
13. Attend induction ceremonies as assigned;
14. Attend staff meetings and act as secretary for staff meetings;
15. Committees.¹²

The above scheduling of work is a description of the duties of the Executive Staff. These duties range through all of the functions of head office and through all of the functions and objectives of the Association in general. It now remains to suggest a typology of these duties.

A TYPOLOGY OF THE A.T.A. EXECUTIVE STAFF DUTIES

Three separate and distinct types of duties seem to be manifested to the writer from the work schedules of the Executive Staff as outlined previously. These three are: (a) the Facts and Figures duties; (b) the Contact duties; and (c) the Internal Communications duties.¹³ All three typologies do not characterize the work of any one individual nor does any

¹²Ibid., p. 23.

¹³This typology has been suggested by Harold L. Wilensky in Intellectuals in Labor Unions (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956), p. 34.

one typology characterize the work of any one individual. Rather, there seems to be a considerable amount of overlapping of duties which may at times prove to be dysfunctional to the Association.

In characterizing the duties of the Executive Staff as a group, some of the universal duties are: (a) creating the verbal environment of the professional organization world; (b) contributing to the self-esteem of the various incumbents of the offices of the Association at all levels of government by giving them prestige and by meeting the various groups with which the Association comes into contact; and (c) creating counter-action or a "white-washing" of the incident or person involved when incursions or mistakes are made or implied which may injure the reputation of the Association. Grouped together, these three universal duties may be termed as sustaining the relationships of the Association with respect to the other interest groups in society. What now follows is a description of each typology of duties.¹⁴

(a) The Facts and Figures Duties

The individuals responsible for facts and figures basically in practice supply the technical, economic, and legal "know-how" which strengthens the position of the Association in its contacts with other interest groups in society. The primary concern in this sphere is with facts, figures, records, and arguments. These may involve an analysis of the economic characteristics and conditions within the Province and the country

¹⁴An analogous typology may be found in Lawrence W. Downey, "The Skills of an Effective Principal," The Canadian Administrator, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 11-14.

and therefore lead to activities dealing with contracts, wage structures, and collective bargaining techniques in general. There is a need for the individuals involved in these duties to develop two basic skills, namely: (a) skill in human relations; and (b) skill in producing quick, acceptable answers to complex economic problems. In the latter instance, the individuals build pressures on school boards by way of the Government of the Province and by way of public sentiment thereby giving such things as collective bargaining a flavor of "the rights of citizens". There is a tendency on the part of the individuals involved in these duties to persuade and impress conciliation commissioners and quasi-judicial Conciliation Boards by promoting an orientation of the negotiators towards the use of facts and figures. The net effect of the individuals performing the duties involved in facts and figures collection is to introduce a rational and responsible bias into collective bargaining and economic welfare in general by a conscious examination of alternatives and other factual relevancies. In certain instances such as when the Foundation Program Plan was introduced by the Government of the Province as a method of financing the costs of education, the facts and figures duties involved the adoption of the attitude of "playing it safe" until all the implications of the Plan became manifested.

(b), The Contact Duties

Individuals responsible for these duties have been described by one writer as follows: "they are the experts who furnish the political-ideological intelligence the union leader needs to find his way around in a bureau-

cratic society."¹⁵ With regard to The Alberta Teachers' Association, the Executive Staff members involved in contact duties interpret officers at all levels of government of the Association and the organization itself to the important interest groups and interpret these interest groups to the A.T.A. officers, themselves for the purpose of presenting an image of respectability and responsibility as far as the collectivity is concerned. One of the primary concerns of these Executive Staff members is with adopting a skill with facts about, and techniques of, manipulating the thoughts, feelings, and conduct of individuals who are in positions of leadership. The Executive Staff members develop a skill in "contacts" by means of private consultation, negotiation, and mediation. In relation to governmental agencies, all that may be required to straighten out a problem is a telephone call to the appropriate governmental member--the Association's elected officer is not cognizant of this fact, but the Executive Staff expert is. The Executive Staff members carrying out these contact duties are involved in smoothing, negotiating, and expediting with a paramount emphasis on liaison work. Interpreting the Association as a collectivity to the other groups in the body politic is the requirement.

(c) The Internal Communications Duties

Individuals involved in these duties have been described as being those who "supply political-ideological intelligence for internal control."¹⁶ The primary concern of the individuals involved in carrying out the duties of internal communications is with skill in manipulating members of the

¹⁵Wilensky, op. cit., p. 61.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 80.

Association, especially those members who form the active minorities at the various levels of government of the organization. The Executive Staff responsibility in this respect would be in building top officer prestige and in enhancing their control over the rank and file. The duties are concerned with maintaining morale and loyalty in critical situations or moments of crises. At times, it may mean the allaying of minority group pressures which may be threatening the cohesiveness of the Association. At other times, it may be the search for issues in order to ensure unanimity. The duties would be most evident in the control of the instruments of disseminating internal propaganda such as the various publications. On other occasions, these individuals would become "change agents" in that they may wish to promote certain changes in the policy of the Association and therefore the adoption of a certain modus operandi mentioned in the previous chapter is imperative. There must be the appearance of unanimity, a great deal of work, and concern for democratic procedures.¹⁷

CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING THE EXECUTIVE STAFF

Typically, the Executive Staff is concerned with certain survival imperatives. As individuals, they wish to maintain their positions in the Association. Their applications for the positions in the first place is tangible evidence of such a concern. The fact that seven Executive Staff members receive a total of \$89,000 yearly in salary helps them decide on

¹⁷As "change agents" they are analogous to Downey's "speculative-creative skills". See Downey, op. cit., p. 13

the importance of holding their jobs. In maintaining their positions with the Association, four characteristics of this maintenance seem to be manifested: (a) there is a personal loyalty to the Association and its policies coupled with a concern for promoting the objects of the Association and for maintaining the Association as such; (b) there is a pro-union or pro-labor sentiment in the Executive Staff in their commitments to collective bargaining procedures, a fair wage for the common teacher, economic welfare in general, pensions, etc.; (c) there is a certain amount of anonymity coupled with an anomaly of visibility in that the Executive Staff member "knows his place" in regard to the elected officers of the Executive Council, but at the same time he must demonstrate that he is producing work for the Association--evidence of this visibility is the work schedule which appears monthly in the A.T.A. Magazine; and (d) the Executive Staff members are persevering, efficient, and flexible in the face of crises.

The members of the Executive Staff have developed their respective talents on the job to a great extent. Granted, most of them brought certain expertise and experience to their positions. It would seem more prudent to state that this expertise in most facets of the operations of The Alberta Teachers' Association has been the result of experience gained in the affairs of the organization.

Notwithstanding the evidence to the contrary, the Executive Staff is genuinely concerned with preserving the belief that the Association is governed by the ordinary teachers. The result has been that a great amount of work is expended in writing articles attempting to bolster this conviction and preventing minority group pressures.

In regard to this concern for demonstrating that the rank and file

govern the Association, Figure 3 has been produced as an indication of the formal machinery of government of The Alberta Teachers' Association. However, on the basis of the non-formal procedures actually used to govern the Association, it is suggested that Figure 3 is a highly idealistic structuring.

SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

This chapter has been an attempt to summarize the functions and duties of the central Executive Staff of The Alberta Teachers' Association. The focus of inquiry has been on the positions themselves and on the Executive Staff as a group rather than on specific individuals. Of course, it requires very little application to correlate the position with a specific individual for someone who is familiar with the work of the Association.

It was shown that the Executive Staff is an active minority devoting full-time to the affairs of the Association. Notwithstanding the formal organization of the levels of government of The Alberta Teachers' Association, the non-formal procedures of the Executive Staff, its functions, and its duties would suggest a deviation from the formal flow chart of authority. The reasons for such deviation are inherent in the need for sustaining the relationships of the Association with other groups in the body politic on a day-to-day basis. This sustaining of relationships seems to be best accomplished by permanent staff members versed in accommodative techniques with the concomitant of a centralization of functions and duties. The overlapping membership of the elected officers--their obligations to the Association and their obligations to their pupils and employers--further

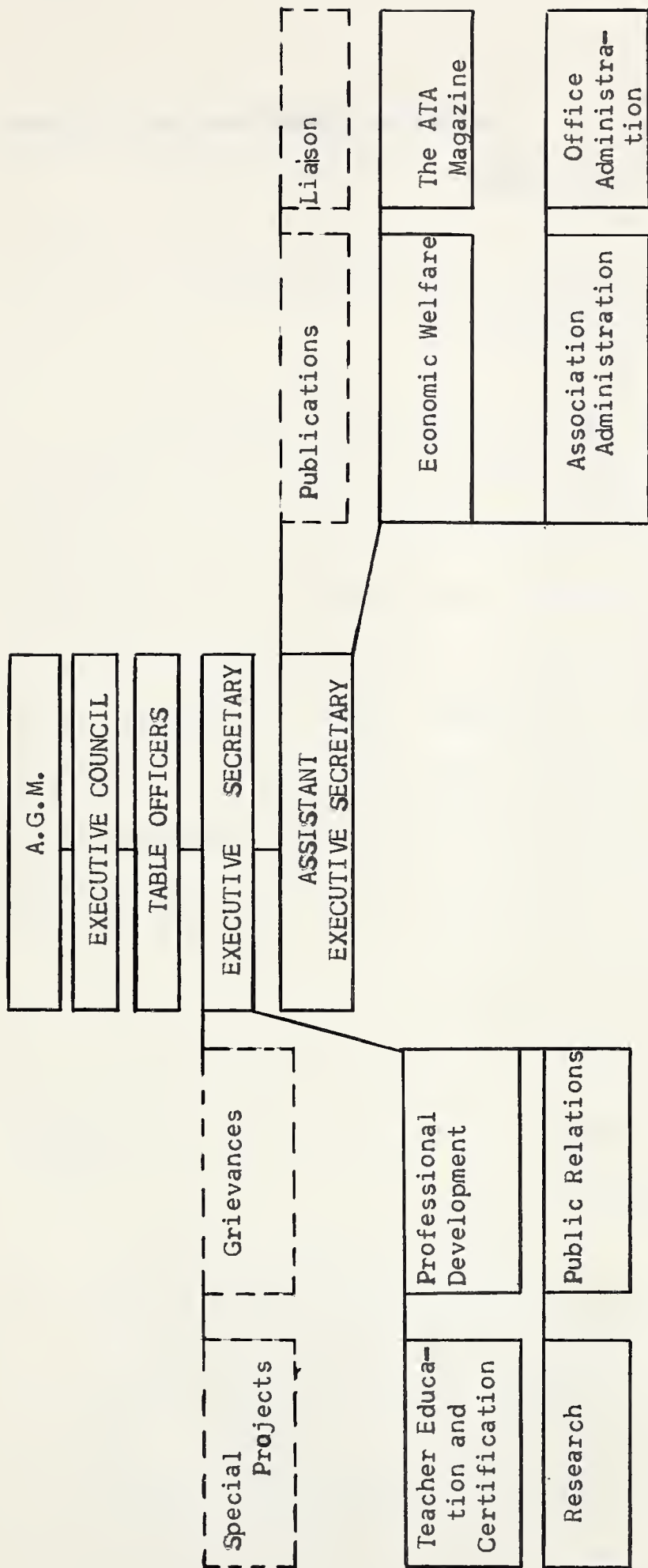


FIGURE 3

ORGANIZATION OF ATA HEAD OFFICE BY CONTROL OF FUNCTIONS¹⁸

ATA Flow Chart of Recommendations (up) and Authorizations and Directives (down)

¹⁸Clarke, op. cit., p. 2.

adds to the non-formal procedures.

CHAPTER VII

THE ALBERTA TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION AND THE TEACHING PROFESSION ACT

This chapter is concerned with the struggle of The Alberta Teachers' Association in its attempts to achieve legitimate status in Alberta. Basically, it is an elaboration of the "setting of goals" concept treated in Chapter IV. The struggle for legitimacy will be viewed from the following broad vantage points: (a) the determination of the goals; and (b) the final achievement of same. Throughout the discussion a concern will be manifested with the forces responsible for the final goal attainment. The permanent executive staff which consisted of one member was largely to be credited with the eventual culmination of nineteen years of work.

THE INITIAL GROPINGS

On the cover of the first copy of the A.T.A. Magazine dated June, 1920, the following boxed notice appeared in bold type:

Fellow Teachers

Are you a member of the ATA?

If not, do you know that you are a "clog" on the efforts of three-fourths of your fellow-workers in this Province?

Are you indifferent about the \$1200 minimum?

If you are, you are "betraying" the hand that supports you, and no amount of empty drivel about the "missionary spirit", or pious humbug about "patriotism", can disguise the fact.

Do you meet persons who express doubts about the propriety of teachers' organizations, and who advise you to keep clear of anything so banal or "common" as a "union"?

Mark those persons. They are your "enemies". They fear organization, much preferring that you remain what you are, an individual

powerless to resist domination.¹

Such was the cry, militant in spirit, penned by the General Secretary-Treasurer of the Alberta Teachers' Alliance as he proceeded to formulate the objective of the Alliance's becoming the official spokesman for the teaching force of Alberta, which in 1921 numbered 5,320.² Of this number, 1,763³ were members of the Alliance which does not measure up to the previous statement that "three-fourths" of the teachers were for the organization. It would have been more correct to say that one-third were members, but the bandwagon technique of internal propaganda was used.

Nevertheless, even though the Alberta Teachers' Alliance was a small force, it seemed to be well-organized. Its monetary strength was meagre as shown by the financial statement of 1920-21 which appears as Table V. This financial statement is significant in several respects, namely: (a) the membership fees were \$7,850.00 which divided by a membership of 1,763 indicated an average per member cost of approximately \$4.46 for services rendered by the Alliance; (b) the salary of the General Secretary-Treasurer was the largest single item of expenditure; and (c) printing and stationery together with organization expenses constituted a composite item, an indication that the greatest job facing this infant organization was the projection of a favorable image not only to the other groups in society but also to the teachers themselves, both members and non-members. A special

¹The Alberta Teachers' Alliance, A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 1, Cover.

²Department of Education, Annual Report (Edmonton: The Queen's Printer, 1935), p. 110.

³A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 21.

TABLE V

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE ALBERTA TEACHERS' ALLIANCE, 1920-21⁴

<u>Receipts:</u>			
Balance on Hand, Easter, 1920		1416.31	
Membership fees received		<u>7850.00</u>	
			9266.31
Bank Interest			<u>49.80</u>
	TOTAL RECEIPTS		9316.11
<u>Disbursements:</u>			
Office Expenses:			
Postage	114.10		
Telephones	178.65		
Telegrams	20.79		
Printing and Stationery	236.10		
Office Maintenance	<u>260.00</u>		
		809.64	
Office Equipment		285.85	
Newspaper Subscriptions		41.00	
Auditor's Fees		20.00	
Bank Charges		13.93	
Sundry Expenses		69.95	
Legal Fees, etc.:			
Paid to Solicitor	426.34		
Adjustment of Grievances	<u>266.15</u>		
		692.49	
Organization Expenses		696.73	
Travelling Expenses of Executive		868.27	
Salaries:			
Stenographers	328.00		
General Secretary-Treasurer	<u>2558.75</u>		
		<u>2886.75</u>	
	TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS		6381.61
	Balance of Cash on Hand		<u>2934.50</u>
			9316.11

⁴A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 1, Nos. 10-11, p. 20.

provincial organizer had been employed expressly for such a purpose, but his services were terminated in 1921 prior to the above financial statement.

The president of the Alliance stated the need for membership in these words at that time: "Closely allied. . . was the need for an aggressive membership campaign."⁵ How was this campaign to be conducted? Three means were employed: (1) the raising of the status of the Alliance in the eyes of members and non-members by illustrating that it alone could get things done for the teachers; (2) an intensive propaganda discourse amongst the membership pointing out the forces threatening its existence; and (3) conferences with the government of the Province and other interested parties with a view to allying them or gaining their favor. In respect of these points, the president stated: "It is one thing to have definite ends to accomplish, and another to choose the means by which to work for these ends. We have so far worked largely by means of conferences, some of them of great importance, and we hope none without effect."⁶ Also, it was felt that "Our machine is now complete; can the teachers as a body, be induced to use it?"⁷

As further aspects of the above points the General Secretary-Treasurer stated in 1920:

I may say that the Alliance has had a peculiarly successful year, successful in every direction, because such a large proportion of our members are made of the right material, anxious to stand behind the Executive they elected, to the last ditch; and that being so,

⁵A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 13.

⁶Ibid., p. 15.

⁷Ibid., p. 23.

our sphere of activity will become larger, our enterprise greater, our policy bolder, and our campaigns more successful, more especially if the slogan for the coming year be "Every qualified teacher a member".⁸

The result of such an appeal by the General Secretary-Treasurer was a resolution: "that the alliance intensify and extend in every possible way their publicity campaign, covering Alberta, and, if necessary, the whole Dominion, with a view to educating the public as to the needs of the teaching profession, and putting the teaching profession on the same basis as the other learned professions."⁹ Not only was the public to be educated, but also by successful publicity, it was hoped that the teachers by self-determination would eventually support the Alliance by a one hundred per cent membership because the Alliance was concerned with the welfare of all teachers, not just the members. The following excerpt illustrates this hope:

A few days ago a certain teacher was asked to pay the annual fee of \$7 to the Alliance, she answered: "What has the Alliance ever done for me?"--and she saved \$7. But she had an increase in salary of \$300 or more, as a result of the activities of the Alliance during the past years in establishing the \$1200 minimum. If this is the species of fungoid micropsychus that is "moulding" the character of our future citizens, do you wonder at the low status of teachers?¹⁰

As a final facet of the campaigns for membership in these initial gropings for legitimacy the following is worthy of note as it appeared on the cover of the A.T.A. Magazine in the Sept.-Oct. issue of 1920:

Be Loyal

Fellow-teachers:

The Teacher Organization Movement is spreading over Canada and the United States.

Recently, the Manitoba Teachers' Federation, following Alberta's

⁸Ibid., p. 25.

⁹Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁰A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 7.

lead, appointed a Provincial Organizing Secretary at a salary of \$4000. Thus the movement grows. But while Alberta's percentage membership is 66, that of B.C. is 90: Alberta's should be at least 80. Every young teacher owes a duty to his older and more experienced confreres: his professional prestige demands that he join this guild.

He will then have the backing of 5 of the teachers' organizations of Canada, and the protection afforded by the powerful Canadian Teachers' Federation with its membership of 30,000.

Our organization evokes criticism: that is a sign of health and vigor.

Join up; subscribe for our magazine; get our point of view.¹¹

TOWARDS DE FACTO RECOGNITION

From its meagre beginnings, the Alberta Teachers' Alliance attempted in the ensuing years to get every qualified teacher to join the organization. At the same time, various measures were taken to make the organization known. Issues were dealt with by the spokesmen which would give a sort of de facto recognition of the Alliance's being the agent for the teachers of the province. In a review of the literature written by the permanent staff, and it was largely a "one-man show", there was, as yet, no real indication that the Alberta Teachers' Alliance wanted de jure recognition.

The Alliance, as such, had a constitution drawn up, an important clause of which was: "any person eligible for membership in the Society may make application for membership to the General Secretary-Treasurer and upon receipt by the applicant of the official certificate of membership, signed by the General Secretary-Treasurer and sealed with the corporate seal of the Society, the said applicant shall become a member of the

¹¹A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 1.

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said Society."¹² Membership was on a voluntary basis in this, primarily, mutual-benefit association.

Another important clause read: "The Executive Council shall be the Executive and Administrative body of the Alliance and shall consist of the (members of the Executive) and the General Secretary-Treasurer. . . ."¹³ The Executive Council met sporadically in that four meetings a year seemed to become the accepted mode of procedure. The consequence was that the initiation of policy, the interpretation of policy, and indeed, the execution and administration of policy was in the hands of the General Secretary-Treasurer with the former two procedures eventually being ratified by either the Executive Council as a whole or by the Annual General Meeting. When the exigencies of this era in Alberta's history are borne in mind, when quick maneuvering was needed, when many forces appeared to be throttling the organization, when membership was low, and when gains by the Alliance were few, the need for one-man permanent leadership became most evident.

The period from 1920 to 1935 was the era of growth--a growth which was slow yet steady. Various tactical maneuvers were employed to convince the government, the body politic, and the teachers themselves to give formal recognition to the Alliance. For example, in 1921, an article was written purporting to show how some of the members of the Alliance attempted to influence the peoples' choice of school board members in Edmonton. It read:

What they (the teachers) actually did was. . . simply this: they invited school board candidates to attend a joint meeting of the two local

¹²Ibid., p. 15.

¹³Ibid., p. 16.

Alliances, and to express their views on certain fundamental Alliance policies. The candidates then withdrew, and the teachers discussed amongst themselves the claims of the several candidates for support, whereupon it was resolved that certain of the candidates, in view of their statements of policy, and of their records as school board members should receive the undivided support of both locals.¹⁴

A further example of tactical maneuvering was the publication of a list of school boards which would not deal with the Alliance in any way. This list became known as the common "blacklist" and was the subject of many arguments concerning teacher influence over school board policies.

Teachers were urged to run for office in city councils and as members of senior governments. The official organ provided the appropriate accolades whenever any one of these individuals was successful and kept a careful record and running account of his work for the teachers' organization. Besides teachers, other sympathetic candidates received A.T.A. support. Accordingly, an editorial appeared in the June, 1926, issue of the A.T.A. Magazine stating in part: "Teachers of Edmonton: This is your great opportunity! Go out and convince the public that they must give first choice to Gibbs!"¹⁵ C. Lionel Gibbs, a teacher in a technical school, was running on the Labor party ticket as Member of the Legislature from Edmonton and was described as being most sympathetic to the teachers' organization. The whole editorial, three pages in length, was devoted to a discussion of support for Mr. Gibbs whose views evidently coincided with those of the Alliance. In 1933, the teachers met in Garneau School in Edmonton where "a large portion of the discussion was devoted to teachers

¹⁴A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 7, p. 13.

¹⁵A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 16.

entering politics and it was finally resolved: That the members of the teaching profession do hereby pledge their support to whichever political party will give the teachers of this province the greatest measure of security of tenure."¹⁶

Other examples of maneuvering for legitimacy were those tactics concerned with encouraging membership participation. In June, 1922, the following article appeared on page 1 of the A.T.A. Magazine and continued to appear there for the next few years:

Have you ever tried to form a local and been discouraged and unsuccessful? The time of disappointment should now be ended. No longer is it necessary to be compelled to gather together six members or have no Local Alliance. If as few as Three Teachers can meet in one centre, the AGM has instructed the General Secretary to recognize them as a Provisional Local Alliance; that is to say: If headquarters is informed of the name of the Provisional Local Secretary all official notices, communications, etc. will be forwarded. Don't be satisfied by being merely a "member at large": get into organization work, and make the Alliance function in your midst--Provisional Locals should spring up everywhere. Make sure of One Where You Are. Don't leave it to "George" to do it. Do your Bit.¹⁷

A further example of such encouragement was the following recommendation by the AGM in that year: "That a competition among Locals be organized for securing members. . . ."¹⁸

Moreover, numerous articles appeared in the A.T.A. Magazine showing in effect what advantages would accrue to individual teachers who became members of the Alliance and also what advantages the Alliance had already secured for its members and non-members. A typical article would be one which listed a number of cases where the Alliance actually aided the teacher in his dispute with a school board or the Department of Education.

¹⁶The Alberta School Trustees' Association, A.S.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 3, No. 6, p. 10.

¹⁷A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 1.

¹⁸Ibid.

Some of these disputes were carried all the way to the Supreme Court of Canada. The following is indicative of such support:

A telegram was received from Ottawa on Monday morning, October 27, from O. M. Biggar, K.C., to the effect that the Supreme Court of Canada had allowed the appeal of Thomas Richards, former Athabasca school principal, from the judgment of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of Alberta and had awarded him damages for wrongful dismissal, and costs throughout. . . .

The Alliance has every reason to be satisfied with the result of the case, the last and final round going to them.¹⁹

The maneuvering for legitimacy was expressed in a quotation on the cover of the A.T.A. Magazine for February, 1921, as follows:

The first thing for the Department of Education to do is to recognize the Alberta Teachers' Alliance in an official manner as the representative body of the teachers of Alberta, fully qualified and empowered to act on behalf of the teaching profession.²⁰

What this meant was that official recognition was a "must", but as yet, although there was a desire to have every teacher a member of the Alliance, there was no cognizance of having legislation incorporated by the Government of the Province making for compulsory membership. In fact the Government of that era seemed to be at odds with the Alliance as shown by this statement:

The fourth year of Our Teachers' Alliance has been a year of storm and struggle: Our principles have been attacked, and our leaders assailed and becudgeled from all sides. . . . Teachers, the best friend of the State that is or is to be, are opposed by forces political and economic within the State. . . .²¹

DE FACTO RECOGNITION ACHIEVED

In 1933, some sixteen years after the formation of the Alliance, in

¹⁹A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 9, No. c, p. 1.

²⁰A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 8, Cover.

²¹A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 9, Cover.

the presidential address, the following was said about a delegation sent by the Alliance to interview Governmental leaders:

The deputation was very courteously received, and the following accomplished--

A. For the first time in our existence our resolutions were replied to by the government. . . .²²

De facto recognition was assured. However, the effects of the world economic depression were being felt in Alberta. Although membership in the Alliance had crawled up to 3,362 in 1932,²³ salaries of teachers had plummeted downwards from an average salary of \$1,160.30 in 1921 to an average salary of \$745.90 in 1933.²⁴

There was a glut of teachers on the market and it was not uncommon to have individual teachers underbid each other for jobs, in many instances, demeaning themselves completely. The Alliance was concerned and advocated certain measures to overcome this anomaly of an over-supply of teachers. Two recommendations of the Executive Council written by the General Secretary to the Premier received a great deal of debate in the Legislature, namely: (a) That the entrance age of girls entering Normal School be raised; and (b) That one of the Normal Schools be closed completely.²⁵ However, the whole province was in a turmoil as was the whole country and the world in general. Stopgap measures were the order of the day and panic was not unknown. The teachers fared badly in this ignominious period as illustrated by this statement early in 1933: "It is very evident from the

²²A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 13, No. 9, p. 6.

²³Ibid., p. 9.

²⁴Ibid., p. 14.

²⁵A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 13, No. 9, p. 14.

attitude manifested at the last Trustees' Convention that the teachers have few friends these days to champion their cause or the cause of education in general. . . .Teachers' salaries are being cut, educational facilities curtailed, and the tide must be stemmed."²⁶

In the summer of 1933 in regard to de jure recognition of the Alliance, one hope appeared as described by this statement:

The forthcoming conference between representatives of the A.S.T.A. and the Alberta Teachers' Alliance under the chairmanship of the Hon. J. E. Brownlee, K.C., the Premier of Alberta, upon the matter of tenure of teachers--contracts, engagement and dismissal of teachers, and appeals against dismissals--gives rise to high anticipation on the part of Alberta teachers that, at least, progress in this regard is in the offing and a final settlement of this vexed question may open the way for all parties concerned to concentrate all their energies and activities on education in the broader field.²⁷

In 1932, membership in the Alliance stood at 3,372 and in late 1933 the outlook for the organization seemed to be improving; at least, it was felt that the end of the depression would bring about a change in the status of the teacher. Moreover, there was only one direction this status could take and that was "up", since it was already at the very bottom. The Provincial government was in the hands of the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA), a political party which received quite a good deal of editorial criticism from the Alberta Teachers' Alliance. However, the M.L.A. for Edmonton, Mr. Gibbs, who was on the Labor party ticket continued to advocate the cause of the Alliance. In the March sittings of the Legislature in 1934, he moved that an education commission be set up to study the

²⁶A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 13, No. 9, p. 14.

²⁷A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 13, No. 10, p. 10.

educational problems of the Province. Party lines were crossed on this private member's bill and the motion was passed. But on September 5, 1934, this M.L.A. died and the leaders of the Alberta Teachers' Alliance mourned his passing in these words: "He was the 'Old Reliable' of the A.T.A. since his first appearance in the House."²⁸

At the same time, acting on instructions of the Annual General Meeting of Easter, 1934, the General Secretary was to conduct a plebiscite of all teachers in Alberta as to whether they wished to see teaching judged as a profession. The initiative for such a plebiscite was first voiced by the General Secretary at the April Annual General Meeting in the following terms: "I recommend that, as a preliminary move in the coming crusade to secure official status for the teaching profession, a plebiscite be authorized of all teachers in active work throughout the Province."²⁹

In December, 1934, the Alberta Teachers' Alliance Executive appeared before the Rural Education Committee of the Legislature--the Committee formed by the Government in response to Mr. Gibbs's motion in the previous sitting of the House. As part of its presentation written by the General Secretary, the Alberta Teachers' Alliance advocated:

It is suggested that the matter of training, certification of teachers, granting of certificates to teachers from other parts of the world, cancellation of certificates, disciplining of wayward members, be placed under the authority of a body composed, amongst others, of representatives of the teaching profession, and that official status involving membership in a professional organization be a requirement of all practising the profession of teaching.³⁰

The Rural Education Committee of the Legislature took this suggestion with the others under consideration. In the meantime, the results of

²⁸A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 15, No. 1, p. 5.

²⁹A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 14, No. 8, p. 14.

³⁰A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 15, No. 4, p. 15.

the balloting showed that of 2,824 votes cast to date in the plebiscite as to whether teaching should be a profession (interpreted to mean obligatory membership on the part of those engaged in teaching) 2,770 voted "Yes" and 54 voted "No" or 98 per cent were in favor.³¹

In early February, 1935, the Alberta Teachers' Alliance Executive presented its annual brief written largely by the General Secretary to the Government. One section of this brief dealt with the official status of the teaching profession and read as follows:

The resolution passed by our supreme body read as follows:

No. 23. Whereas: The present status of the teaching profession, because of the lack of necessary legislation, is inferior to that of the professions of law, medicine, engineering, etc.; and

Whereas: The duties and responsibilities of the teachers to the state are great, if not greater, in importance; Be it resolved: That we ask the Provincial Government to enact legislation which will raise teaching to an official professional status.

No. 24. Resolved: That steps be taken forthwith to raise teaching to an official professional status: that is to say, the teachers be established as a professional society on lines similar to those of the other learned professions.

It is submitted that the enactment of legislation in this regard would be of service to the Government and the people of the Province as well as to the teachers. It is not an innovation, for in certain states of the Union, membership fees of teachers' organizations are required to be collected by either Government or County Superintendents, in each state.

We beg to bring to your notice a ballot which has been sent to the teachers of the Province (both to members of the A.T.A. and to non-members). Returns are not yet complete, but out of approximately 3000 ballots returned, over 98% voted in favor of steps being taken to provide that every person practising teaching in Alberta shall be a member of the professional organization.³²

It is interesting to note that: (a) now there were approximately "3,000 ballots" returned, whereas the official figures released were 2,824;

³¹ A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 15, No. 5, p. 3.

³² A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 15, No. 6, p. 4.

(b) the returns were not yet complete--there is no record that they were ever completed and two months had already elapsed; and (c) 98 per cent voted in favor: there were 2,770 votes "For" and 54 votes "Against". The teaching force at this time was 5,911 according to the official statistics³³ so that the number 2,824 indicated that 47.8 per cent of the teachers voted.

The Teaching Profession Act was brought before the Legislature in April, 1935, having been sponsored by Chester A. Ronning, a school teacher M.L.A., and a member of the U.F.A., the incumbent government party. As it was originally drawn up it would have provided for compulsory membership in the organization. Support seemed to be in favor of the Bill's passage, and after the first reading, the Bill went into committee. There, Mr. G. MacLachlan, another U.F.A. government member, introduced an amendment which would omit the compulsory membership clause. The original clause 4(1) as written by the sponsor on the advice of the General Secretary of the A.T.A. was changed to read that:

all persons carrying on the profession of teaching in any institution of the Province of Alberta, supported by provincial or municipal taxation, which maintains a department for giving instruction in the courses of study prescribed for elementary, secondary, or technical schools under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education of the Province of Alberta, shall be eligible for membership in the association.³⁴

The key to the clause is signified by the fact that the last few words, "shall be eligible for membership in the association" originally

³³Department of Education, Annual Report (Edmonton: The Queen's Printer, 1935), p. 110.

³⁴A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 15, No. 9, p. 3.

read "shall as a condition of his employment be a member of the Association."³⁵ In the vote on this contentious amendment, party lines were again crossed; nevertheless, the final tally was twenty-five for the amendment and twenty-two against. The exact vote in favor was three Labor, one Conservative, three Liberal, fifteen U.F.A., and no Independent.³⁶

It would have appeared that the Alberta Teachers' Alliance had been stymied in its efforts to gain compulsory membership and that other steps would have to be taken. Nonetheless, de jure recognition had been given by this Bill to the Alberta Teachers' Alliance which, under the terms of the Bill, had its name changed to The Alberta Teachers' Association. In the annual report to the membership in late April, 1935, the president of The Alberta Teachers' Association said:

It is quite true that we have not secured just what we wanted and the teaching profession has not yet been placed on the same legal plane as law, medicine, etc. But after all, it must be conceded that a forward step has been taken. The profession has been recognized as such by statute; the Alberta Teachers' Association becomes a body corporate and politic and its aims and objects have been written into the statutes of the province.³⁷

Time and again, the Alberta Teachers' Alliance spokesmen stated to their membership that certain forces were attempting to thwart their efforts. It seemed that the trustees' organization loomed largest amongst these forces, since it bore the brunt of the criticism. However, it would appear that these statements were primarily internal propaganda because even though there was some opposition to the achievement of legitimacy, it was not concentrated. Rather the opposition was sporadic in nature. There were

³⁵Ibid., p. 3.

³⁶Ibid., p. 1.

³⁷Ibid., p. 5.

other issues related to teacher tenure, financing of schools, the revision of The School Act making for larger units, and teachers' salaries which seemed to occupy the minds of the school trustees and to obscure the major argument.

It is useful to trace this sporadic opposition throughout this period. In regard to de facto recognition, as early as 1933 the spokesmen for the A.S.T.A. stated: "As a thorough-going and effective organization the Alberta Teachers' Alliance deserves the warmest congratulations,"³⁸ but further stated in a somewhat sour manner, "the Executive of the A.T.A. accompanied by their solicitor (canny that!) met the Premier and the Minister of Education on March 18, 1933, and had an interview lasting several hours. . .the interview was eminently satisfactory to the A.T.A. . . ." ³⁹ which indicated some misgivings on the part of the trustees. Nonetheless, in the majority of instances, the Alliance was recognized by the various school boards as the official spokesman for the teachers in salary disputes, tenure disputes, etc. Not too many school boards risked a posting on the common black list as being unwilling to recognize the Alberta Teachers' Alliance as official spokesman for the teachers.

It was not until early April, 1935, that the leaders of the A.S.T.A. wrote:

Now What Do You Think of This!

Our attention has been drawn to a bill to be presented to the Alberta Legislature at an early date, under the caption: "An Act Representing the Teaching Profession." Should this bill be passed there would be little left for the school trustees to do except sign the cheques and

³⁸A.S.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 2.

³⁹Ibid., p. 2.

collect the fees for "The Alberta Teachers' Society" (the A.T.A. under another name). . . .It would appear therefore, that the Alliance despairing of making way on its own merits, is resorting to this legislative stunt to make membership compulsory. It is, in our opinion, bad business to coerce teachers into joining an organization for which many of them have no liking whatever. . . .This proposed Act will not do.⁴⁰

However, over the meagre opposition of the A.S.T.A. the Bill was passed but with the compulsory membership clause deleted. This was as it should be according to the A.S.T.A. whose leaders wrote:

Despite the valiant efforts of. . . , the Legislature broke party lines and one by one drew the "teeth" of the Bill. Strong protests are reported from A.T.A. officials but it would seem that the teachers are in quite the same position under the Bill as passed as other professional bodies, no better and no worse.⁴¹

In any assessment of the opposition, all evidence points to its being sporadic and not concerted. Furthermore, there were other, more tangible issues concerning the trustees, who, in all likelihood did not understand the ramifications of this Bill. The fact remains that either the officials of the A.T.A. chose an opportune time to present their demands or they had magnified the opposition for purposes of maintaining internal cohesion and gathering strength. At this time "of approximately 6,000 teachers employed in elementary and secondary schools in the Province, 3,141 are now members of the A.T.A."⁴²

TOWARDS THE FINAL SOLUTION

Because opposition to the clause making for compulsory membership

⁴⁰A.S.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 3.

⁴¹A.S.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 5, No. 3, p. 3.

⁴²Ibid.

was led by a few influential members of the U.F.A., the Executive of the A.T.A. wrote several articles which were severely critical of this opposition. One editorial read in part: "All who were present when the amendment killing the obligatory feature was moved by Mr. G. MacLachlen, U.F.A. member for Pembina, in effect voted 'No! Absolutely No!' to the aspirations of the members of the teaching body to bring teaching to the legal status of the other professions."⁴³

In the meantime, the Legislature had been dissolved and a new election called for in August, 1935. An article appearing in the A.T.A. Magazine at this time stated that: "As nominations for the various political ridings are announced, we learn with pleasure of the choice of various teachers as candidates."⁴⁴ But the greatest hope seemed to be manifested in a new political party led by a school teacher that had appeared on the hustings. This new political party by the name of Social Credit led by a school teacher, William Aberhart, was severely criticized by The Herald, a Calgary newspaper. In turn, an editorial in the A.T.A. Magazine severely criticized The Herald to the effect that The Herald's treatment of Mr. Aberhart and Social Credit was analogous to its treatment of Mr. Barnett and the A.T.A.⁴⁵ It further specifically stated: "The A.T.A. and the Calgary teachers feel just this way about The Herald: that for some years past a new spirit has permeated their 'atmosphere' in regard to teachers and education: that a 'teacher-baiting' policy has been ordered to be adopted. . . ."⁴⁶ Someone once said that politics

⁴³A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 15, No. 9, p. 1.

⁴⁴A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 15, No. 10, p. 19.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 1-13.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 3.

makes for strange bedfellows and the above exchange was some indication that the A.T.A. Executive was in sympathy not so much with Mr. Aberhart's particular political philosophy, but with the fact that he was a school teacher and that eight other Social Credit candidates were school teachers as well.

In the election of August 22, 1935, Mr. Aberhart and his Social Credit party were given the mandate in a landslide and it seemed that nothing but good would now ensue for the teachers' organization. An editorial in September, 1935, stated:

It would be hypocrisy to infer otherwise than that the teachers of Alberta have longed for a change of --- shall we say "weather"; that long ago they arrived at the conviction that, generally speaking, the personnel of the last legislature lacked sound vision in education and were without sound leadership and forceful direction.⁴⁷

A further article stated: "We take this, the first opportunity of extending to Premier Aberhart the warm congratulations of the A.T.A. upon his extraordinary political achievement."⁴⁸ On October 17, 1935, the new Premier, who had also taken over the portfolio of Minister of Education, was honored at a banquet held under the auspices of the Edmonton public and high school locals. In his speech at this banquet, Mr. Aberhart "concluded by an earnest plea for teacher support in instructing the public as to the meaning of Social Credit."⁴⁹

THE AMENDMENT

The year 1936 boded well for the teachers' organization. At an

⁴⁷A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 16, No. 1, p. 1.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 3.

⁴⁹A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 16, No. 3, p. 15.

Executive Meeting held in Calgary on December 30 and 31 of 1935, the statement was made: "The next move, as the intelligent spectator has foreseen, is towards 100 per cent membership by law."⁵⁰ The exact procedure in getting the necessary amendment to The Teaching Profession Act has been partly described by the President of the A.T.A. at this time as follows:

In midsummer, the Provincial elections were held and a new government was installed in office. Immediately our hopes were revived; the new Legislature, unbiased by prejudice and misconception, might grant what the previous Legislature withheld. Under direction from the Executive, our Secretary prepared comprehensive amendments to The School Act. He also drafted amendments to The Teaching Profession Act, 1935, so as to provide for automatic membership and power to discipline members. . .it was almost entirely his own work and was accepted without material amendment.⁵¹

A delegation of the A.T.A. presented these amendments to the Government prior to the opening of the Legislature. At the same time, the General Secretary wrote a form letter to all A.T.A. members urging them "to write the local M.L.A. in connection with changes in the Alberta School Act, etc."⁵² The amendments were incorporated. The great faith placed in such facts as the Premier's saying in a speech to the Edmonton teachers: "Throughout the ages lawyers, artists, philosophers, etc., have had their day. Now it is the teachers' turn,"⁵³ or as in another effort, "we are glad to note that Premier Aberhart is not opposed to statutory professional status"⁵⁴ had materialized into legislation.

⁵⁰A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 16, No. 5, p. 6.

⁵¹A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 16, No. 9, p. 16.

⁵²A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 16, No. 8, p. 19.

⁵³A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 16, No. 3, p. 2.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 12.

The Teaching Profession Act, 1935, and Amendments thereto was brought before the Legislature in late March and received royal assent on April 4, 1936. The actual process has been described as follows:

Our interest in the Bill to amend the Teaching Profession Act took us to the Legislature recently. We had expected a certain amount of stumbling and fumbling in the case of the new members (which means almost the whole House). But no, parliamentary procedure was followed without a hitch. There was a business-like tone to the whole House. So teachers can leave the class-room and function successfully in other walks of life! Mr. Solon Low, M.L.A. for Warner (and of course a teacher), who piloted the Teachers' Bill through the House, has gained quite a reputation as an orator around these parts. And did the other teacher-members support the Bill? Just 100 per cent.⁵⁵

The Bill, of course, did not just "sail through". There was opposition by the daily press and by the trustees, the latter placing pamphlets on each M.L.A.'s desk which read in effect that they should oppose the Bill when it was brought to a vote on that day.

TRUSTEE OPPOSITION TO THE AMENDMENT

Some misgivings had been expressed by the officials of the A.S.T.A. when the new Government containing a number of teachers came into power, in these terms:

Teachers to the Fore!

Nine out of the sixty-three of the newly elected Legislature in the Province of Alberta are teachers who have been actively engaged in the profession, an achievement which should be enough to satisfy even the most ardent propagandists for the "rights of citizenship" of teachers. Of the entire population of the province the teachers probably number less than 1% but they were elected to nearly 15% of the seats in the House. Not bad!⁵⁶

⁵⁵A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 16, No. 8, p. 17.

⁵⁶A.S.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 5, No. 7, p. 1.

In another article, the misgivings of having many teachers in government were again expressed as follows:

Advice to Public Speakers

If you want a real "hand", slam the Banks or "the Fifty Big Shots." If you are content with slightly less applause, slam the school trustees--it will please you and it won't hurt them--they are used to it.⁵⁷

Everyone at that time knew that the new Minister of Education was "slamming" the "Banks and the Fifty Big Shots" as being responsible for Alberta's economic plight. The trustees did not escape his wrath either.

In January, 1936, this feeling of misgiving on the part of the Trustees' organization was still prevalent and was now expressed in these terms:

As this is probably the most critical time in the history of the Association it is incumbent upon the members and especially upon the readers of this magazine to emphasize this point upon all school trustees with whom they come in contact. We have a new Government, a new Minister of Education. . . . Under the circumstances it would be a simple matter to wipe out any existing legislation. If school trustees are not awake now they may wake up later only to find themselves abolished in large measure or so crippled as to be powerless in the conduct of the schools. A word to the wise is sufficient.⁵⁸

At the February annual convention of the A.S.T.A. the following resolution was passed by the gathering on recommendation of the Executive of the Association as a tangible expression of its displeasure with the new Government's proposed action:

With regard to the Teachers' Professional Act and legislation governing contracts, the executive be instructed to keep in touch with proposed legislation, with a view. . . (c) to guard against the introduction of the compulsory membership for all teachers in

⁵⁷ A.S.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 5, No. 9, p. 16.

⁵⁸ A.S.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 5, No. 10, p. 1.

the proposed organization.⁵⁹

The Executive of the A.S.T.A. then attempted to get the trustees to write their respective M.L.A.'s and also circulated leaflets to every M.L.A. on the day the amendment came up. Nonetheless, this procedure was to no avail, the reason for failure being perhaps the lack of organization in the A.S.T.A., the lack of funds, and the lack of leadership adapted to purposes as counterbalanced by strong leadership in the A.T.A. and teacher representation in the new Government.

REACTION TO THE FAIT ACCOMPLI

The A.S.T.A. Executive had done what little it could to oppose the proposed amendment to The Teaching Profession Act. This is best expressed by the trustees at that time as follows:

The legislation committee of this Association made every effort to have the wishes of the trustees presented to the Government. . . . Judging from the volume of correspondence at this office it would appear that a very great number of school districts forwarded resolutions expressing the will of the ratepayers to the Premier and the local member of the Legislature. In the main their opinions have been disregarded, but are they downhearted? . . . The fight is over, now let's play ball.⁶⁰

Once the issue seemed settled, the trustees' organization, the Executive of which had opposed the amendment, was urged to accept it, but there were misgivings as evidenced by the following remarks in the official organ of the A.S.T.A. at the time:

Any teacher who is a holder of a valid permanent certificate from the Minister and who has two years' teaching experience is now a full fledged "Professional". It is to laugh!⁶¹

⁵⁹A.S.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 5, No. 10, p. 1.

⁶⁰A.S.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 1.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 19.

Other adverse criticism came from the press, sometimes voiced in rather vehement terms. The A.S.T.A. Magazine of May, 1936, contained this article quoted from a newspaper of that time and written in part as follows:

A Racket Indeed!

One of the sweetest rackets in the world has been put over in Alberta by the Alberta Teachers' Alliance, in the Legislature--no less--in the form of "The Teaching Profession Act". . . .

Hitherto the Alliance or Association has been at considerable expense to induce teachers to join up. Emissaries were sent out year by year to teachers' conventions to round up new members. This feature of it is now finished. No more missionaries, no more glib talkers, no more arguments are required; the teachers belong to the Association, or they cease instantly to be teachers.⁶²

The article went on to describe the work of John W. Barnett, General Secretary-Treasurer of the Alberta Teachers' Association, in these terms:

Now, we pause to pay a tribute of respect to Mr. John W. Barnett, the main push of the Association. Our chapeau goes off to Mr. Barnett, who by persistence, energy and real ability has put this racket over. We would not say for a moment that Mr. Barnett is Alberta's First Public Enemy; but we will say that Mr. Barnett is Alberta's First Racketeer and this by legislative approval. Personally, we like Mr. Barnett very well indeed. . . .Mr. Barnett is a swell companion on a fishing trip, or almost anywhere else. But in this particular matter, we doubt if even Al Capone has anything on him.⁶³

To state that sections of the press and the A.S.T.A. were mildly opposed to the amendment would be something of an understatement in view of some of the things that had been written.

THE SEQUEL

The Annual General Meeting of Easter, 1936, had Premier Aberhart

⁶²A.S.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 6, No. 3, p. 2.

⁶³Ibid.

as the guest speaker. In his speech on April 14, he reviewed what his Government had done for the teachers and intimated some sort of reciprocal return.⁶⁴

The amendment was passed and the next step was its implementation. Accordingly, a boxed article in bold type appeared in the May, 1936,

A.T.A. Magazine reading:

Re: Teaching Profession Act--Important Notice

In order to secure facile operation of The Teaching Profession Act, teachers who are not members of the A.T.A. previous to the month of April, 1936, are urgently requested to fill in the registration form printed below and mail immediately.

All teachers, whether or not members of the Association previous to April, 1936, must notify the Secretary of the Association immediately upon entering into a contract with a school board. This is now a matter of law (Teaching Profession Act, 1935, and Amendments thereto, Sec. 4 and Sec. 12).⁶⁵

Some contention had arisen over the interpretation of the part of the Act dealing with "upon entering into a contract with a school board." This argument was eventually resolved by legislation, because some teachers felt that since they were already under contract they need not belong to the Association.

SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

The securing of legitimacy by the A.T.A. has been traced from its early beginnings through to the all-important amendment. Throughout the whole process, it would seem that the influencing of the teachers' point of view and eventually the Government's point of view was in the hands of the General Secretary-Treasurer, not without help, of course. The latter

⁶⁴A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 16, No. 9, p. 25.

⁶⁵Ibid.

phases of the struggle clearly depict that the General Secretary originated the plebiscite, interpreted the results satisfactorily, wrote the needed briefs, influenced the key people, and even wrote the final amendments, in most instances having been empowered to do so.

To what extent the A.T.A. was responsible for the rise to power of the Social Credit party cannot be ascertained. The conclusion is that the two organizations with their overlapping membership had certain coincident objectives to attain. The degree to which one organization influenced the other is difficult to determine since the objectives of both groups in regard to education appeared to be congruent. In point of time, of course, the Alberta Teachers' Alliance (Association) was on the scene first.

It is consistent with the evidence to state that the Association as an interest group exercised considerable influence regarding this particular piece of legislation. It was effective largely because teachers who were sympathetic to the Association also became members of political parties and members of the Legislative Assembly.

With the securing of legitimacy, the necessary procedures and activities of the Association became formalized and the growth of the organization was a concomitant.

One other aspect that should be mentioned is the use of internal communications and propaganda by an organization in order to achieve its aims. This was shown in the General Secretary's use of figures which, although correct, did not present the whole picture because other relevant figures had been omitted.

A still further aspect is the fact that a percentage of teachers

were not willing to join the organization of their own accord, and indeed, in the times of an over-supply of teachers, were willing to have salaries cut. This means that if it had not been for the active minority headed by the General Secretary, it is difficult to predict what the status of the Association might have been. A look at the situation of various teachers' organizations in the United States and some of the other provinces in Canada may be evidence of what might have been, had automatic membership in the A.T.A. not become a prerequisite to teaching in the Province.⁶⁶

⁶⁶J. M. Paton, The Role of Teachers' Organizations in Canadian Education (Toronto: W. J. Gage, Limited, 1962).

CHAPTER VIII

THE ALBERTA TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

A critical issue with The Alberta Teachers' Association is the matter of collective bargaining. The aspects of collective bargaining are ever-present and seem to pervade all other activities of the Association. A study of the Association would be incomplete without an assessment of collective bargaining.

A look at the total expenditures of school boards in the Province of Alberta indicates that approximately fifty-five per cent of the total expenditures was made in the form of teachers' salaries. This arises from the fact that in 1960, total expenditures by all school boards in Alberta were \$104,024,254, of which \$57,143,861 was spent on teachers' salaries.¹ The amounts received by individual teachers are based on negotiations conducted between school boards on the one hand and The Alberta Teachers' Association on the other. They meet to carry on what has been termed the "collective bargaining process" and finally arrive at a salary schedule which embodies besides monetary items of remuneration, other features of working and living conditions.

The purpose of this chapter and a subsequent chapter is to explore the locus of A.T.A. control in the collective bargaining process.

¹Department of Education, Annual Report (Edmonton: The Queen's Printer, 1962), p. 127.

According to Dubin, "Bureaucratic administration has been invented to provide the necessary linkage between top management decision-makers and workers at the operating levels"² and "the need for the new administrative form derives from the size and complexity of organizations."³ An attempt will be made to show how the locus of control over the actual bargaining with school boards leaves an appreciable imprint on the resulting salary schedule, no matter what the particular instance may be.⁴

The locus of control will be viewed from three basic vantages:

- (1) provincial A.T.A. control of bargaining at the subordinate level;
- (2) the formulation of A.T.A. demands to be submitted to the school boards by the negotiating personnel; and (3) the cooperative action among the subordinate locals.⁵

Collective bargaining as carried on by The Alberta Teachers' Association with school boards has two principal aspects. In the first instance, it is a method of price-making--of setting the price or wages for the labor of the teacher.⁶ In the second instance, it is a method of introducing civil rights into teaching--of requiring that school boards

²Robert Dubin, "Society and Union-Management Relations," in Amitai Etzioni, Complex Organizations (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961), p. 286.

³Ibid.

⁴Joseph Shister, "The Locus of Union Control In Collective Bargaining," Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. 60, p. 513.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Sumner H. Slichter, Union Policies and Industrial Management (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1941), p. 1.

proceed by way of rules rather than by way of arbitrary decisions.⁷ In this latter aspect, collective bargaining becomes a method of building up a system of accepted procedures in regard to a salary schedule. Viewed from these angles, collective bargaining is a concept which is as yet understood by relatively few citizens.⁸ Most people think of collective bargaining in terms of the employing school board arguing with the teachers over a wage increase. From a stark discussion of wages the bargainers are drawn by pressures from within the A.T.A. to discuss leaves of absence and sick leaves, teaching load and working conditions, administrative pay, substitute teaching, etc. Accordingly, points four, five, and six of the Statement of Educational Policy of The Alberta Teachers' Association should be noted, namely:

4. The creation of a more competent and effective teaching force depends upon the implementation of each of the factors in the high standards approach. These are: careful selection of recruits to the profession, balanced professional preparation, internship, placement according to proficiency, well-planned education and orientation for teachers, inservice education, assistance through supervision, and control of competence standards by the professional organization.

5. The right to the proper processes of collective bargaining is essential to the maintenance of the political and professional independence of The Alberta Teachers' Association. The political and professional independence of the teaching force is essential to the maintenance of freedom in our society.

6. A single salary schedule based upon the preparational scale is the most equitable salary administration policy for use in establishing professional remuneration.⁹

⁷Ibid.

⁸Clinton S. Golden and Harold J. Ruttenberg, The Dynamics of Industrial Democracy (New York: Harper and Bros., 1942), p. X.

⁹The Alberta Teachers' Association, A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 43, No. 3, p. 49.

The Alberta Teachers' Association may be thought of as a political system, and the aggregate of interests which are represented by school boards may be thought to constitute another political system. The decisions which they jointly reach in the bargaining process are in part dependent on their respective political characteristics.¹⁰ In concentrating upon such considerations it will prove beneficial to center discussion upon the issue of authority and responsibility, two aspects of determining the locus of control and also two essential factors of any political system.¹¹ This chapter will be concerned with the derivation of the authority of the leaders in collective bargaining in The Alberta Teachers' Association and the nature of their responsibilities as a reformulation of the three aforementioned basic points of view.

PROVINCIAL A.T.A. CONTROL OF BARGAINING AT THE SUBORDINATE LEVEL

A. Historical and Theoretical

Any union may have two principal forms of development. In the first place the union could start out as one body which obtains certain rights and then formulates subsidiary bodies as a means of expanding its original base. In the second place the union could originate as a number of subsidiary units which eventually combine into one encompassing body for coordination but still retain subsidiary individuality.¹² These two views of origin with the direction of flow of authority designated by

¹⁰Neil W. Chamberlain, Collective Bargaining (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1951), p. 239.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Shister, op. cit., p. 514.

arrows are diagrammed as Figure 4. It is quite possible, of course, that an organization could originate one way and yet develop in another.



Figure 4

VIEWS OF ORIGINS OF UNIONS

Case I typifies a more stringent type of control on the part of the central organization than does Case II because of prior formation in point of time and hence in accumulation of knowledge and power. Actually Case I is an example of unitary control with most decisions emanating from the top whereas Case II would be an example of federated control permitting dissension amongst the subsidiary units.

Even though Section 8 of The Teaching Profession Act reads in part: "The association shall consist of a federation of local associations and members at large. . ."¹³, The Alberta Teachers' Association is an example of Case I in that one union was first formed which eventually attempted to organize all the teachers in Alberta into various local bodies owing a basic allegiance to the original organizing group. The extent of this organization reached its peak with the passage of an amendment to The

¹³Government of the Province of Alberta, The Teaching Profession Act, Chap. 331 Revised Statutes of Alberta (Edmonton: The Queen's Printer, 1955), Section 8.

Teaching Profession Act by the Provincial legislature in 1936 making for a union shop. Membership in The Alberta Teachers' Association was made compulsory before a teacher could teach in the tax-supported schools of Alberta. The pertinent section of The Teaching Profession Act, or subsection I of section 5 reads as follows:

All persons carrying on the profession of teaching in any institution of the Province that is supported by provincial or municipal taxation and that maintains a department for giving instruction in the courses of study prescribed for elementary, secondary, or technical schools under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education, shall, as a condition of their employment, be members of the association.¹⁴

Subsection (2) of Section 5 of The Teaching Profession Act further amplifies the above statement as follows:

Notwithstanding subsection (1), when a teacher enters upon any contract of engagement with the board of trustees of any school district or school division in the Province, the teacher shall give notice forthwith in writing to the secretary of the association of the date of his proposed employment and the remuneration agreed upon, and in such case the board of trustees may employ the teacher until the association notifies it in writing that the teacher is not a member.¹⁵

It may be seen that any intervention of the central Association of The Alberta Teachers' Association into collective bargaining has been a development of the historical growth of each local partly, and has been generated by structural forces making themselves felt with ever-growing intensity over time.

Besides a structural and historical basis for intervention by the central Association, there are other views as well. According to Dubin, collective bargaining may be ascertained as a "continuous conflict between

¹⁴Ibid., Section 5.

¹⁵Ibid.

groups" (which) "leads to a focus on disputes over means to a shared end."¹⁶ There are two general types of disputes over means to an end, namely: (a) disputes over procedures regarding the actual operating steps involved in satisfying the acceptable goals; and (b) disputes over structure involving the power positions of the school board and the A.T.A. However, continuous conflict between these two groups eventually leads to some standardized modes of conflict and routinized interactions. At no time is the fact lost sight of that the conflict will eventually be resolved. But these conflicts lead to the development of functionaries on both sides whose permanent assignments are to be experts in resolving the conflicts. In the case of The Alberta Teachers' Association, this is accomplished by a designation of certain members of the permanent executive as "trouble shooters" or "dispute resolvers". This means that the control of negotiations is in the hands of certain individuals constituting the permanent executive staff.¹⁷

Another way of looking at collective bargaining is that a large share of it is not conflict but that rather it is a process "by which the main terms of the agreement, already understood by the negotiators, are made acceptable not to those in charge of the bargaining but to those who will have to live with its results."¹⁸

¹⁶Dubin, op. cit., p. 294.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 285-300; the whole paragraph is an adaptation of Dubin's article.

¹⁸Albert A. Blum, "Collective Bargaining: Ritual or Reality?" Harvard Business Review, Vol. 39 (Nov.-Dec., 1961), p. 64.

Collective bargaining calls for cooperation, not conflict, between the negotiators so that the persons in charge of negotiations enter into the bargaining process with two demands: "(a) the public one in which they ask for more or offer less than they anticipate the final settlement will be, and (b) the private demand which they normally are in close agreement about even if they do not say so in public, to their opponents, or perhaps even consciously to themselves."¹⁹

Negotiations consist of preparations in two parts: (a) the attempt, on the part of The Alberta Teachers' Association and the school trustees to determine what the ultimate terms of the agreement should be; and (b) getting ready for the role the negotiators are to play. Both sides spend most of their time in preparing a host of relevant materials such as charts and tables that prove whatever case they desire. The result is that the first steps in collective bargaining are a display of propaganda.

Once this step has been taken care of, discussion centers around the "cutting up of the pie" and its allocation, with both sides knowing consciously or at times unconsciously what the final settlement will be.²⁰

Again in the latter course, designated negotiators hold all the cards since they are in possession of the propaganda material or are the authors of it. They are also cognizant to a certain degree of the the final settlement in lieu of what other segments of the province are

¹⁹Ibid., p. 65.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 63-66; the preceding two paragraphs are an adaptation of his article.

agreeing on. In the case of The Alberta Teachers' Association, the individuals in the strongest position are those with experience and information. A look at the procedures followed by The Alberta Teachers' Association on a non-formal basis suggests that these individuals constitute the permanent Executive Staff.

B. The Nature of Control

1. Historical development. As noted previously, The Teaching Profession Act of 1935 provided that all teachers were eligible for membership in The Alberta Teachers' Association. In 1936, the Act was amended to provide that all teachers as a condition of employment were to be members of the Association.

Nevertheless, prior to 1941, there was no statutory procedure available to school boards or to teachers for the conduct of negotiations. If a dispute did develop, it was not uncommon for an inspector or superintendent of the Department of Education to be called in to assist in resolving the difficulties. However, there were incidents when the disputes went unresolved or for that matter were settled arbitrarily by the school board. The result was that the relations which prevailed between the school board and its teacher employees were unsatisfactory to the teachers.

According to the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act which governed negotiations in Alberta prior to 1941 an "employee" was defined as any person employed by an employer to do any work for hire or reward in any employment to which this Act applied but did not include employees

in domestic service or agriculture.²¹ "Employer" was defined as "any person employing one or more persons or any member of employers acting together or who in the opinion of the Minister have interests in common."²² The general meanings, however, were interpreted at that time as being inapplicable to teachers or to school boards.

As a result of representation by The Alberta Teachers' Association to the government, teachers, in 1941, were granted the right to collective bargaining under The Alberta Labour Act. The definitions of "employee" and "employer" were therefore amended to read:

(a) 'Employee' means any person employed by an employer to do any work for hire or reward in any employment to which this Act applies and shall include every teacher employed under The School Act, 1931 and amending Acts but does not include employees in domestic service or agriculture.²³

(b) 'Employer' means a person employing one or more persons or any member of employers acting together or who in the opinion of the Minister have interests in common and shall include a Board of Trustees of a School District and every divisional Board constituted pursuant to The School Act, 1931 and amending Acts.²⁴

In 1947, the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act was repealed and replaced by a new Alberta Labour Act. Moreover, the drafters of The Alberta Labour Act were of the opinion that the original wording

²¹Government of the Province of Alberta, The Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act. Chap. 57 Statutes of Alberta (Edmonton: The Queen's Printer, 1938), Section 2(f).

²²Ibid., Section 2(e).

²³Government of the Province of Alberta, The Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act Amendment Act. Chap. 20 Statutes of Alberta (Edmonton: The Queen's Printer, 1941), Section 2(e).

²⁴Ibid., section 2(f).

used prior to 1941 was sufficiently embracing and that any overt reference to teachers was totally unnecessary. The result was that the pertinent section was again amended to now read:

(a) 'Employee' means a person engaged in an industry who is in receipt of or entitled to wages for labour or services performed wherever the labour or services are performed.²⁵

(b) 'Employer' means a person, corporation, firm, manager, representative, contractor or sub-contractor having control and direction of or being responsible directly or indirectly for the employment of and the payment of wages to an employee.²⁶

(c) 'Employment' means employment in any industry, trade, business or occupation.²⁷

(d) 'Industry' means any business, calling trade, undertaking and work of any nature whatsoever and any branch thereof in which there are employees and employers.²⁸

Once the matter of definitions was cleared, the teachers came under the provisions of The Alberta Labour Act and now conduct negotiations according to the procedures outlined in this Act.

2. Formal control. The control exercised by the central Association over local collective bargaining takes two principal forms: (1) formal constitutional limitations on the freedom of action of the local under The Teaching Profession Act, the A.T.A. By-laws, The Alberta Labour Act, and The School Act; and (2) the intervention or counsel of the provincial officers in the collective bargaining process at the local level. There are both formal and non-formal procedures in use. This section deals with the formal aspects whereas a subsequent section deals with the non-formal.

²⁵Government of the Province of Alberta, The Alberta Labour Act, Chap. 167 Revised Statutes of Alberta (Edmonton: The Queen's Printer, 1955), Section 2(g).

²⁶Ibid., Section 2(h). ²⁷Ibid., Section 2(i). ²⁸Ibid., Section 2(k).

In regard to the formal constitutional limitations on the freedom of action of the local first there is the provision that the teacher shall be "deemed guilty of unbecoming or improper conduct who. . . (e) where he is one of a local group, bargains on his own behalf on questions affecting each and all members of the group."²⁹ This means that since the local association need not be the bargaining agent, some other pressure must be brought to bear on the teachers so that they do have recourse to their local association as a totality in the conduct of negotiations.

Secondly, The School Act, section 358, states that "Teachers may bargain collectively with the board of a non-divisional district or of a division and may conduct such bargaining through a bargaining agent pursuant to The Alberta Labour Act."³⁰ The bargaining agent is the central Association of The Alberta Teachers' Association.

Thirdly, there are provisions stipulating the proper course of procedure in all collective bargaining. These may be found outlined in detail in The Alberta Labour Act but are also summarized in the A.T.A. Handbook as follows:

Under law in Alberta, teachers and school boards bargain collectively to determine salaries and working conditions. Subject to the provisions of The Alberta Labour Act, The Alberta Teachers' Association is the official bargaining agent for all teachers employed by school districts, divisions and counties of this province. Pursuant to such statutory provisions and subject to the by-laws of the Association, teachers employed by a school district, division or county bargain collectively with school boards. These negotiations can be lawfully conducted from the opening of the

²⁹Government of the Province of Alberta, The Teaching Profession Act Chap. 331 Revised Statutes of Alberta, op. cit., Section 15, Subsection 4 (2)(e).

³⁰Government of the Province of Alberta, The School Act, Chap. 297 Revised Statutes of Alberta (Edmonton: The Queen's Printer, 1955) Section 358.

the bargaining process through to conclusion of an agreement provided that such agreement is countersigned by the Association as bargaining agent.³¹

What this means is that negotiations may be carried on by the local associations with their respective school boards and must be at least initiated by them but that all local contracts must be submitted to the central head office of The Alberta Teachers' Association for approval after completion of negotiations. By law only the central association is the "official bargaining agent" providing that the central association has been designated as the "agent" for the group of teachers involved.

In regard to further formal provisions for control in negotiations the following statements are worthy of note:

If a dispute between the teachers and school board develops, the teachers may by majority vote at a properly called meeting of the bargaining unit request that the Association conduct further negotiations in their behalf. Once the Association has been requested to represent the teachers of a bargaining unit, a representative of the bargaining agent is appointed who conducts negotiations by and with the consent of the majority of the members of the bargaining unit. The decision to accept or to reject proposed settlement must be made by a majority of the members of the bargaining unit present at a properly called meeting.³²

What the above statement means is that if the local unit reaches an impasse with its respective school board in negotiations, it may call upon the central Association to act in its behalf. However, any decision to accept or to reject a salary schedule must be submitted back to the local association for approval. It would almost seem that the local Association had control of its collective bargaining; however, this is not the

³¹The Alberta Teachers' Association, A.T.A. Handbook (Edmonton: The Alberta Teachers' Association, 1962), p. 205.

³²Ibid., p. 207.

case.

The local is a creation of the central Association as indicated by this statement which forms section 8 of the A.T.A. By-laws: "Any twelve members of the Association may apply to the Executive Council to form a local. . . ." ³³ Therefore the local is subject to formal control by the central Association because according to section 15 of the A.T.A. By-Laws: "The constitution, by-laws, or rules and regulations of any local shall be subject to revision, addition, or disallowance by the Executive Council." ³⁴ The implication is that the local association is responsible for its actions to the central Association of The Alberta Teachers' Association and subject to its control.

Two important principles may be derived from the study of the formal means of control of fractional bargaining--bargaining at the local level--namely: (a) the principle of exclusive representation in that the Association representing teachers in a bargaining unit represents "all" the teachers; and (b) the principle of majority rule in that all the teachers in a local are bound by the decision or choice of the majority, a decision which basically rests in the hands of the central Association. It has been ascertained that formal control of bargaining rests with the Executive Council.

3. Non-formal control. The trend in The Alberta Teachers' Association

³³The Alberta Teachers' Association, A.T.A. By-laws (Edmonton: The Alberta Teachers' Association, 1962), Section 8.

³⁴Ibid., Section 15.

has been to surround the Executive Council with a staff of experts to help the officers reach the right conclusions with the right reasoning. Also, there are several levels of representative government between the teacher in the classroom and the Executive Council in order to give the latter some assurance that the rank and file is at least loosely linked to them in the courses the Executive Council decides to pursue. These two factors make for a means of non-formal control of negotiations at the local level so that even though formally, control rests with the Executive Council it is mostly in the hands of the experts--the permanent staff.

The desire of the provincial Association to prevent competitive cutting among different subordinate locals working on services flowing to the same market, coupled with the desire for uniformity of wages and conditions at the highest possible level, has induced the central office staff to provide adequate checks against the freedom of any local to depart from the specified norm.³⁵ This norm has been approved by the Executive Council but only after acting on "recommendations" of the experts. The question now is related to how the central office staff exercises its influence on the subordinate locals in ways over and beyond the legal aspects nominally in possession of the Executive Council.

One of the ways in which the central office staff influence permeates the local unit is by the maintenance of head office services which provide "economic bulletins, communications, economic consultants, area briefing schools, an economic handbook, and regional conferences."³⁶ The

³⁵Shister, op. cit., p. 515.

³⁶A.T.A. Handbook, op. cit., p. 207.

locals call upon head office for statistical help in negotiations, requesting such information as comparative wage data, cost of living schedules, schedules from other locals and written procedures on collective bargaining. The authors of these communications are the experts.

The Alberta Teachers' Association maintains full-time executive assistants, one of whose functions is to help and counsel local associations in their dealings with school boards. A significant point in this role of the executive assistants is that, in many instances, the help is requested by the locals on their own initiative in that the local rank and file feel the expert is a better bargainer than any local officer, the expert is better informed, and the expert commands the respect of the school board to a greater degree.

The A.T.A. Handbook summarizes the aid extended by the head office in the following terms:

The Association publishes economic bulletins, collective bargaining reports, and an A.T.A. Economic Handbook for the information of members and economic and negotiating committees of local associations. The Association also provides advice on the techniques of contract negotiations through area briefing schools and area negotiating conferences. Economic consultants are also available to bargaining units on request to assist in evaluating proposals and to counsel on tactics and techniques of negotiations.³⁷

The use of the terms "advice", "information", "evaluating proposals" and "counsel on tactics" suggests immediately how central office staff exercises control.

A further example of how the central office staff aids or influences the locals in regard to collective bargaining is illustrated by the

³⁷Ibid.

Collective Bargaining Brochure. As advice to the local negotiating committee, the following statements are worth noting:

In opening your case to the board, identify yourself with the board's problems. . . .

Never, consciously, offend the group. . . .

Make your arguments courteous and effective but not devastating. . . .

After the opening remarks and the thesis of professional equality, the items under consideration are reviewed. . . .

In every group, children or adults, there tends to emerge one dominant personality. . . . A great deal of the strategy of influence should naturally be directed towards that person. . . .³⁸

Pages 12 to 17 of the Collective Bargaining Brochure contain a list of standard board arguments and what the negotiating committee should say in rebuttal. For example, if the school board people should say, "We pay average salaries," the rebuttal should be couched in these terms:

(a) If all teachers were paid \$1,000 would that be a fair salary? It would be average, but no one would argue that it was fair.

(b) Farmers all receive the average price for wheat, yet they are pressing for higher, or 'parity' prices.

(c) When railway men get an increase, all are receiving the average wage.

In this connection, the question is not, whether one school division pays as much as another, but whether any of them pay parity remuneration.³⁹

In addition to the aforementioned elements of non-formal influence, there are other reasons which account for some of the facets of central office staff control of collective bargaining at the local level. The first of these has been linked to the growing importance of the role of the government in the conduct of collective bargaining. Once an impasse has been reached between the local unit and its school board and once the

³⁸The Alberta Teachers' Association, Collective Bargaining Brochure (Edmonton: The Alberta Teachers' Association, 1957), pp. 6-7.

³⁹Ibid., pp. 12-17.

central office man has not been able to improve negotiations, the government proceeds to appoint a conciliation commissioner or to create a three-man conciliation board to mediate the dispute. Under these circumstances, few locals have either the financial resources or the skilled manpower to present their cases adequately before such a government agency and must therefore turn to the central office staff for aid.

The second reason for the intervention of the central office or representatives into bargaining at the local level may be found in the fact that such intervention has both an educative and a strategic influence on the bargaining process. In the former context the central office man has guided locals in their negotiations with school boards by frequently toning down the original demands of the teachers to a more realistic base. Dubin states: "In union-management relations there is no guarantee that unions will be found exclusively on the side favoring change toward a future which they describe as better."⁴⁰ In a dispute between the Macleod School Division No. 28 and the A.T.A. local in 1959 which eventually reached the conciliation board stage, the original local request was \$3,000 as a minimum, but was toned down to \$2,800 as the final request.⁴¹

In the strategic function, the central officers have led the local committees in actual negotiations to the extent that their superior bargaining ability has frequently led to an agreement where the local

⁴⁰Dubin, op. cit., p. 290.

⁴¹Alberta Teachers' Association, "Submission to Conciliation Board in the Macleod School Division No. 28 Dispute, 1960," (mimeographed), p. 5.

representatives had been unable to arrive at a bargain. This latter case is due to the fact that the central office appointees understand the problems of the whole teaching force in the province at large better than the local men because of their longer and more intimate contact with a variety of school boards. At times, just the threat of calling in the central officers serves to hasten an agreement because school boards themselves have no desire to expend the time and money involved in prolonged negotiations or for that matter are not as highly organized as The Alberta Teachers' Association. The threat of a strike calls into play various forces of public opinion which both sides wish to avoid. Dubin states: "The strike itself has taken on a largely symbolic character as a signal to government or . . . management that some action has to be taken to resolve the dispute."⁴²

⁴²Dubin, op. cit., p. 295.

CHAPTER IX

THE ALBERTA TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING (CONTINUED)

THE FORMULATION OF DEMANDS - NEGOTIATING PERSONNEL

The locals with the highest salary scales have usually been the leaders in attempts to set minimum salary scales for any one year. This is understandable because the teachers of one local do not wish to jeopardize any advantages they may have accrued by having school boards point to other locals as examples of where such standards do not prevail. Accordingly, the locals with the highest salary scales have been used as test cases culminating in strike action if necessary in order that their scales could serve as goals for the other locals.

According to Shister, "The original demands submitted by a union to employers in the collective bargaining process leave a significant impact on the agreement finally consummated. Furthermore, the reaction of the rank and file to the final agreement is conditioned, to a substantial degree, by the original demands formulated."¹ To this effect, it is increasingly important to examine the locus of control over the formulation of the original demands.

The customary procedure utilized for the formulation of demands at the local level consists of a discussion of proposals at a meeting of the members. At this level, all pertinent information as to agreements

¹Joseph Shister, "The Locus of Union Control in Collective Bargaining," Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. 60, p. 529.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY
5408 S. UNIVERSITY AVE. - CHICAGO 97, ILL.

TO: DR. J. H. GOLDSTEIN, Director, Department of Chemistry,
University of Chicago, 5408 S. University Ave., Chicago 97, Ill.
FROM: DR. J. H. GOLDSTEIN, Director, Department of Chemistry,
University of Chicago, 5408 S. University Ave., Chicago 97, Ill.

RE: [Illegible]

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already consummated in the province is brought in. Each local has already had representatives at a regional conference or an area briefing school called by the central office staff where over-all formulations of salary policy have been made. These local representatives bring the thinking of the region and the central office staff to the membership of their individual locals. The reverse of this procedure may be true in that local demands are made and brought by the local representatives to the regional level for the development of regional policy. It is up to the central office staff representatives to temper some of these demands appropriately. As an example of the above procedure where the central office staff has already formulated policy, the minutes of the economic consultants' meeting held on April 22, 1961, read in one place as follows in regard to the plan of attack in view of the new Foundation Program Plan for Alberta:

Encourage supplementary requisitions. Government could have avoided a pattern of the need for supplementary requisitions by making the fund substantially larger. . . .

Try to discover some long-term alternative for financing education

Try to discover and 'milk the rich cow'. Attempts should be made to increase salaries in those units which will benefit from the new plan. . . .²

It is a central office staff member speaking.

The local negotiating committee usually has recourse to the advice of an economic policy committee for that local. Certain members of this economic committee have been briefed on policy for the year and on overall policies at conferences conducted by the central office staff. The whole economic committee is designed in most instances to represent the various

²Alberta Teachers' Association, "Synopsis of Minutes: Economic Consultants' Meeting," (Edmonton: The Alberta Teachers' Association, 1961), p. 6 (mimeographed).

strata of the teaching population in that representation is assured for the teacher with no degree, the administrator, the married woman teacher, and most important the individuals who have been indoctrinated with what the policies will be. The economic committee may be quite large, and its duties on the local level have been summarized as follows:

It shall be the duty of this committee to gather and study all data relevant to the preparation of a salary schedule or schedules to be presented in behalf of teachers to a school board or school boards. The committee shall choose its chairman and shall present its recommended schedule to the teachers for approval before presenting it to the salary negotiating committee.³

The data which are "relevant" come from central office and are written to a large extent by the central office staff. Once the economic committee has obtained an approval of the proposed schedule from the membership, the actual process of bargaining is delegated to the salary negotiating committee which is chosen from its membership. This negotiating committee is smaller because it becomes administratively undesirable to have the whole economic committee participate in negotiations with the school boards. The duties of the salary negotiating committee are outlined as follows:

It shall be the duty of this committee to conduct salary negotiations with the school board. The committee shall consist of ____ members chosen from the Economic Policy Committee. All matters relating to teachers' salaries and salary schedules which are subject to collective bargaining with the school board shall be the responsibility of this committee. This committee shall and must receive the approval of any offer made to it by the school board from a majority of the teachers.⁴

³Alberta Teachers' Association, A.T.A. Handbook (Edmonton: The Alberta Teachers' Association, 1962), p. 222.

⁴Ibid.

From the above statement it may seem that in most instances the rank and file embodies within its membership substantial control of the negotiating procedure, but it must be remembered that a few active members have already been indoctrinated by central office ideas in the form of economic consultants' meetings, regional conferences, area briefing schools and the Collective Bargaining Brochure. Accordingly, it does not follow that the members necessarily have the right to a voice in the final agreement. There are too many interceding variables introduced at almost every level of negotiations.

Infrequently, the case has been that after negotiations have proceeded for some time without any substantial progress or to the point where only a few points of difference are to be straightened out, the rank and file give the negotiating committee full power to make a settlement. It should also be noted that the "reporting back" to the membership has two angles in that in the first place it has the advantage of educating the membership, but in the second place it has the disadvantage of slowing up negotiations with the school boards. The process of reporting back to the membership may be a case of "recommending to the membership" that they either accept or reject the proposals of the school boards. This procedure has been known to receive a bit of extra guidance from the central office staff. However, rejection of the proposals constitutes a defeat for the negotiating committee so that acceptance seems to be more feasible because it substantiates the confidence of the rank and file in the ability of the negotiating committee in its bargaining.

The conclusions derived in this section are that the central office staff write the various information, including briefs, agreements already

consummated, etc. They have studied the trend of the economy in general and are able to influence the original demands to a great extent, so much so, that when the new Foundation Program Plan was instituted, the advice given was to "go slowly" or "hold the line" and concentrate on the counties as being the trustee units in a most favorable position to pay. They further are responsible for conducting the various conferences or briefing schools. They recommend possible avenues of new demands to the Executive Council which are then transmitted to the local associations. Their influence on a non-formal level permeates the original formulation of demands and even extends to the actions of the local negotiators, themselves.

COOPERATIVE ACTION AMONG LOCALS

Various locals compare notes on the progress of their negotiations so that among areas which are in proximity there is very little, if any, deviation from certain minimum salary demand schedules. The central office staff ensures that all locals are aware of the extent of negotiations throughout the length and breadth of the province. Regional economic seminars on a geographic basis further aid to align salary policies. The head office cautions local units not to proceed too hastily so as not to get caught up in conciliation as being the only alternative. The following cautionary remarks of a central office staff member at an Economic seminar have been used:

Keep situation fluid. No breakdown should occur until late May or early June, if then. Time has been on our side in the last round. Faced with concentrated effort to dump us into dispute situations, we have emerged with only two conciliation boards so far. The

technique--time is on our side and trustee organization and morale suffers from delay.⁵

Furthermore, if negotiations should bog down and deadlock becomes real to the extent where a strike is in order, one of the provisions of The School Act reads:

If a teacher is or has been participating in a strike under The Alberta Labour Act, any contract of employment entered into between the teacher and another board before the strike is terminated is void, unless the board involved in the strike consents in writing to the teacher accepting employment with the other board.⁶

The implication is that a teacher is forced to cast his lot with his colleagues to the extent of suffering job deprivation.

Apropos of this section, The Alberta Teachers' Association and The Alberta School Trustees' Association have devised a mutual "gentleman's agreement" to the extent that a school board in advertising for teachers should always specify the extent of the progress of salary negotiations.

Also under section 359 of The School Act provisions are set forth for some sort of uniformity in regard to the setting up and adoption of salary schedules for teachers regardless to which local they may belong.⁷

One might consider at this stage why the central office staff of The Alberta Teachers' Association does not proceed to bargain for a uniform salary scale for the province with the head office staff of The Alberta School Trustees' Association as being the most efficient method

⁵"Synopsis of Minutes: Economic Consultants' Meeting," op. cit., p. 10.

⁶Government of the Province of Alberta, The School Act, Chap. 297 Revised Statutes of Alberta (Edmonton: The Queen's Printer, 1955), Section 333.

⁷Ibid., Section 359.

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of procedure? The primary reason advanced by The Alberta Teachers' Association is that:

Teachers have opposed uniform salary scales for the simple reason that they insist that it is an inviolate principle of collective bargaining that the employer and his employees should negotiate the terms and conditions under which service is to be performed.⁸

However, a more likely reason is that the local basis for negotiations serves as a form of leverage by pitting the concessions of one school board against the concessions of another so that the teachers of one local can always point to the salary schedules gained by another local as a standard or as evidence of their own aspirations. The test cases involving real concessions on the part of the school board receive more than their share of attention by the central office staff.

It should be noted, however, that cooperation among locals in collective bargaining is mostly under the aegis of the central office staff and has important economic effects on the nature of the final collective bargain.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

The whole procedure in negotiations on the local level by The Alberta Teachers' Association has been formally summarized by Figure 5. Although the chart presents a rather idealized picture of collective bargaining, it is evident from previous assessment of the locus of control in salary negotiations with regard to The Alberta Teachers' Association

⁸The Alberta Teachers' Association, "More Centralization Proposed," in The A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 43, No. 3, p. 5.

that the non-formal control over collective bargaining in most instances does not rest with the rank and file. In reviewing all the steps in negotiations--from the formulation of demands to the final approval of the contract--the best evidence for rank and file control may be found in that segment of the negotiations where, even though the central office man may be doing the bargaining, the final settlement must still come back to the membership concerned for approval. However, head office may exert pressures on the local to accept the "recommendations" of the central office man or to appoint them as their "agent" in the first place. One of these pressures is stated as follows:

Should a strike situation be reached, the Executive Council of the Association must decide whether financial assistance will be provided from provincial funds in the event that strike action is taken by the teachers.⁹

This statement can cut two ways in that the Executive Council could refuse funds and hence probably forestall any strike but it could also recommend funds and therefore promote a strike. On the other hand, a refusal of funds may lead to strike action anyway, the result of which could create a rather embarrassing schism in The Alberta Teachers' Association and in general perhaps hurt its prestige in the body politic. However, in an examination of the A.T.A. By-laws it must be remembered that formal control rests with the Executive Council as evidenced by section 15. Therefore, it is conceivable that the Executive Council could outlaw any strike and for that matter could even dissolve any local association. An analogy may be drawn to the school board and the legislature in

⁹ A.T.A. Handbook, op. cit., p. 207.

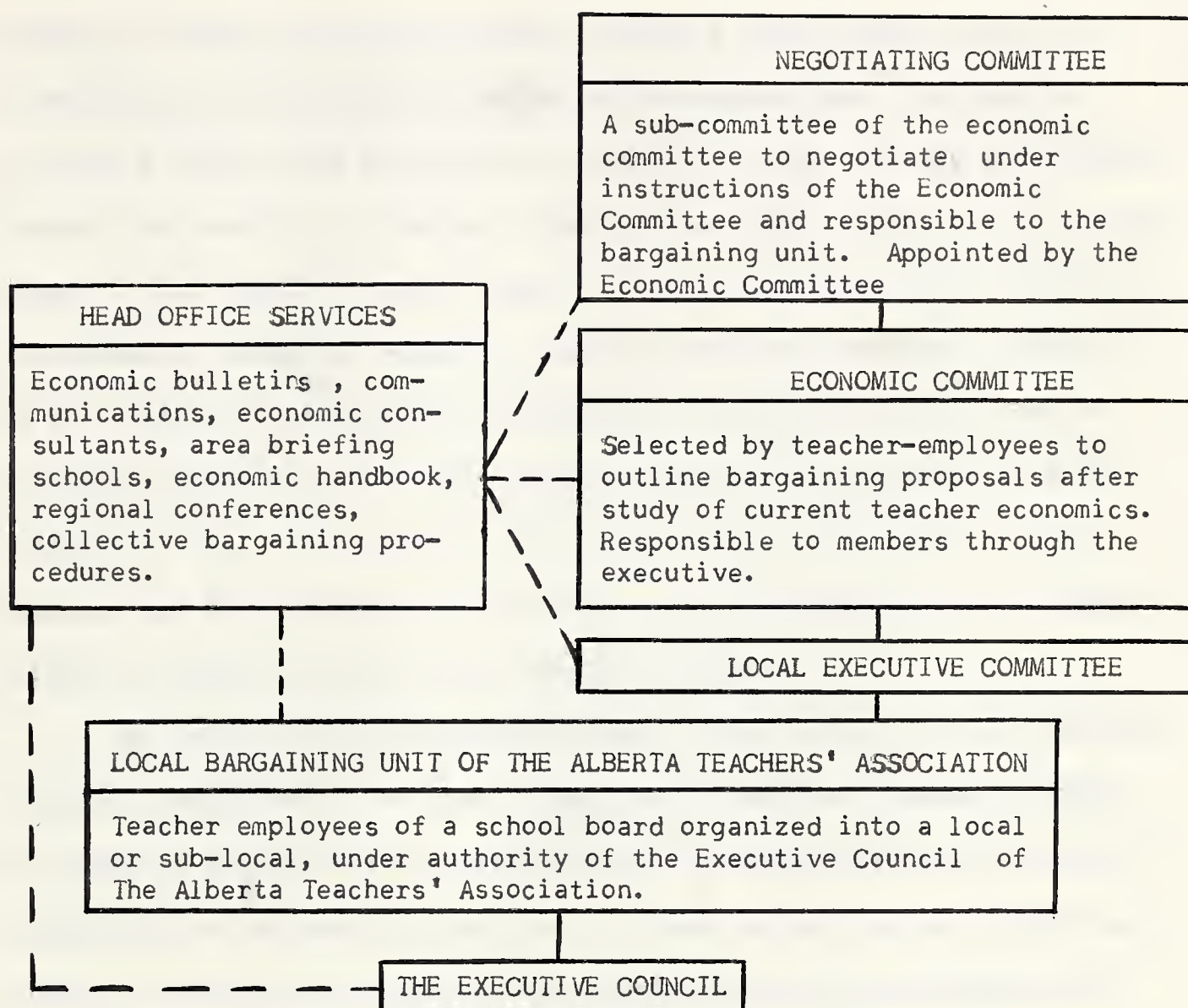


FIGURE 5

STRUCTURE OF NEGOTIATING PROCEDURES¹⁰

¹⁰Adapted from the A.T.A. Handbook, p. 206.

Alberta in that the legislature may dissolve a school board since the school board was actually a creation of the legislature. The same is true for a local since by law it is a creation of the central Association. Because the local is a creation of the central Association, the conclusion drawn is that formal ultimate control of collective bargaining rests with the Executive Council. However, there are numerous non-formal forces at work as noted by the evidence pertaining to non-formal control such as having the negotiations and the writing of materials entrusted to permanent staff. etc. The result is that the central office staff controls negotiations in this province to a relatively high degree, and has pre-empted the formal control of the Executive Council.

The central office negotiator usually does settle for less than the local has asked for in the first place, but it must be remembered that the local by majority vote had the option of either calling in the provincial man or refusing his services. To what extent central office has formally refused to countersign final settlements on the recommendation of their experts cannot at this time be determined. If the proper initial groundwork has been laid by the central office staff, the refusal of services and the threat of refusal to countersign need not arise.

At times the full power of settlement is vested in the negotiators, and the significant point may be that this power has been voluntarily entrusted to the negotiators by the rank and file. But here again any deviations from the wishes of the rank and file are the result of the structural conditions of The Alberta Teachers' Association in regard to non-formal procedures. An amplification of this point reads as follows:

The representative of the bargaining agent can legally sign a

collective agreement only under the following conditions. . .
 (c) . . .if the representative of the bargaining agent has received 'carte blanche' authorization, which can only be given by a majority vote of teachers in attendance at a legally called meeting of the local association. This is a most undesirable practice, and should be used only under most unusual conditions.¹¹

No matter where the actual control of collective bargaining may rest and it is evident that this control has been pre-empted by the central office staff, the fact is that a group bargaining on behalf of the individual member is in a much better position than an individual member bargaining on his own. In this case, "unions as instruments of social justice see themselves as a power bloc."¹² "The union protects workers from individual exploitation by defending their collective rights, established in union contracts, and policed through the grievance procedure."¹³ Therefore, there is a recognition that collective bargaining is an accepted instrument of economic policy and an accepted part of our society.

TOWARDS A RATIONALE FOR COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

The following rationale can apply to either the local association or to the central Association and may prove useful in describing the collective bargaining structure.

¹¹Collective Bargaining Brochure, op. cit., p. 2.

¹²Robert Dubin, "Society and Union-Management Relations," in Amitai Etzioni, Complex Organizations (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1961), p. 299.

¹³Ibid.

Chamberlain states that "productivity can be increased by more effectively enlisting the cooperation of workers."¹⁴ What this statement means to this study is that both the school board and the local should cooperate in improving all phases of the educational program. This program may be termed loosely as "school board - local A.T.A." cooperation with the idea that it consists of a joint program to improve the economic conditions of an area in the hope that this will improve education. Both the school boards and the A.T.A. give moral justification for their positions in regard to collective bargaining. For the school board there are two central moral positions in its proclaimed images of itself. The first is the broad assertion that the stability of the economy is dependent upon the school board's defense of the principles of free enterprise and the keeping down of taxes. The second moral foundation of the school board's self-image is the belief that school board techniques are designed to maximize the material and psychological security of the individual teacher.¹⁵

On the other hand, the moral self-image of the organized teachers also rests on two foundations. First, the Association views itself as an instrument of social justice and secondly it also views itself as providing material and psychological security for individual teachers.¹⁶ However, no real disparity exists between their basic philosophies since both groups

¹⁴Neil W. Chamberlain, Collective Bargaining (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1951), p. 415.

¹⁵Dubin, op. cit., pp. 298-300.

¹⁶Ibid.

believe they are maximizing effective instruction for children in school. Because the local association and the school board are both important agents in the improvement of education, the relationship between these two agents may be viewed from two basic points: cooperation and collective bargaining. Cooperation would represent joint decision-making in matters of admittedly common interest, while collective bargaining would consist of joint decision-making in matters of admittedly divergent interest. In both kinds of decision-making there would be (a) a recognition by each of the other's interest; (b) a continuity of relationships; (c) joint participation in the decision-making process; and (d) the contemplation of some sort of agreement.¹⁷ The difference between the two procedures (cooperation and collective bargaining) would be in the fact that despite the continuing existence of areas of divergent interest such as salaries for example, which are the subject matter of bargaining, the two groups have accepted certain areas in which common interest is considered to be paramount. Once there is a working agreement on how to deal with matters of common interest such as curriculum or school buildings, a base has been set for dealing with matters which are of divergent interest. The transition from collective bargaining to cooperation in regard to divergent interests may be made more easily.

The above argument stipulates that as soon as school boards and A.T.A. locals have reached some modicum of agreement in matters of common interest, then they may also be able to reach some modicum of agreement in matters of divergent interest. They need not carry negotiations always

¹⁷Chamberlain, op. cit., p. 419.

to the "brink" where strike action and loss of any control is the only remaining alternative. In recent years a joint committee of the A.T.A.-A.S.T.A. has been set up with just such views as the above in mind. Also, some such committees have been in operation at the local level for a large number of years operating in areas of common educational interest.

SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTERS VIII AND IX

A presentation of some of the aspects of collective bargaining has been made ending in a rationale. The conclusion was that formal control of collective bargaining ostensibly rests with the Executive Council, but that because of the non-formal pressures, this control has been pre-empted by the permanent staff. Also, it was concluded that A.T.A. bargaining policy with regard to the size of the bargaining unit has not been motivated essentially by a desire for centralization. This has been a consequence of established non-formal procedures.

The dominant consideration of The Alberta Teachers' Association has been the desire to eliminate unfavorable differentials in salaries and working conditions and more positively to establish at least minimum standards of compensation and benefits for the teachers throughout the province. There are no illustrations in any case studied that the permanent staff has proceeded in any nefarious manner that would jeopardize the interests of the teachers.

In the succeeding chapter, an attempt will be made to illustrate where control lay when a threat became apparent to collective bargaining procedures as the A.T.A. viewed it. This description of the Blackstock Commission's activities and its demise will show how a power struggle had

ensued once one group in society perceived incursions on its privileges, incursions which could have given another group the paramount power position.

CHAPTER X

THE ALBERTA TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION AND THE BLACKSTOCK COMMISSION

How does an organization react and marshal its forces when an incursion of its rights is perceived? This is the question considered in the present chapter where the Blackstock Commission concerning a provincial salary schedule was perceived as a threat to the autonomy of the Association. The anomaly of the question, however, is that at one time a provincial salary scale was one of the goals of the Association. When a succession of goals is considered, this is an example of a complete reversal of policy. It is proposed in this chapter to examine the issue of a provincial salary scale which was at one time greatly desired by the Association and which eventually became anathema and had to be nullified.

BACKGROUND

As part of the first educational platform of the infant Alberta Teachers' Alliance one of the planks was "A Provincial Salary Schedule based on the \$1200 minimum with annual increments and a proper placing on the schedule according to experience."¹ At the very inception of the Association, the leaders were thinking of a provincial salary scale as a means of stabilizing salaries which at this time were fluctuating tremendously. In 1926, in a "manifesto"--this was the term used by the General

¹The Alberta Teachers' Alliance, The A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 6.

Secretary--presented to the Minister of Education, the General Secretary wrote as clause III of this "manifesto":

The Executive of the Alberta Teachers' Alliance feels that some move could be made by all parties concerned--the Department of Education, trustees, and teachers--for a province-wide schedule of salaries. That is to say: we feel that a teacher of proven experience and worth should be able to command a salary as compensation for maturity, experience and efficiency over and above what is paid to the green Normal School graduate. We respectfully request that the Department of Education take the initiative in calling together a committee or commission to look into this matter and draw up a provincial schedule of salaries. . . .²

In 1931, in stating the aims of the Alliance, the General Secretary wrote as one of the aims: "A Province-wide schedule of salaries for teachers where teachers will receive credit for past experience and service."³ A few years later, in 1938, in his annual report to the General Meeting, the General Secretary in his discussion of salaries stated:

A promising step has been taken by trustees and teachers to agree upon basic considerations in the compilation of salary schedules. The way is paved for basic minima being generally recognized throughout the province. If school boards and teachers continue along this line, the prospect is bright that when the whole Province is organized into divisions, a provincial schedule of salaries may be put into effect along the lines of the Burnham Scale of England and Wales, whereby the Government indirectly exerts pressure on employing boards for payment according to agreed minima by way of grant control.⁴

It would have seemed from the above evidence that the provincial salary scale was the goal. However, in 1940 came the first signs that

²A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 9.

³A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 11, No. 5, p. 19.

⁴A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 18, No. 9, p. 12.

the General Secretary, at least, was having second thoughts about the feasibility of this goal. In his three-page editorial, the General Secretary wrote the following:

Danger--Go Slow!

Many teachers and school boards endorse the idea of a provincial schedule of salaries for teachers. Presumably, many of those desiring a provincial schedule have in mind something like the Burnham Scale for the teachers of England and Wales, which was the cooperative product of representatives of employing authorities on the one hand, and of teachers' organizations on the other, who met under the chairmanship of Lord Burnham and evolved a schedule of salaries applicable to all teachers whether urban, suburban, rural, etc. No one can criticize the principle involved and its practical working out. . . .The idea seems to work out splendidly and the teachers' organization. . .is able to confer with the authorities and agree amicably--or otherwise--on a state scale of salaries for teachers. Local organizations are spared the annual debate and haggling which so often arise from negotiating the local salary schedule, and the local group of teachers are therefore left free to concentrate on professional as distinct from money matters.

One could conceive such a happy state of affairs in the Province of Alberta with the local organizations of teachers and local school boards spared what is often an annual "dog-fight" over salaries. . . .

This happy state of affairs is an ideal to strive for--no question about that--and presumably many of the school board members have equally good grounds for approving the principle of equality of pay under the same conditions for all teachers wherever they happen to be located.

However, although one can and must unreservedly endorse the soundness of the principle of a provincial salary schedule, it behooves us to look carefully in every direction before "jumping in with both feet. . . ."

Surely teachers must recognize that their experience with the so-called Minimum Wage requirement for teachers should make us go warily before endorsing any proposal whereby the provincial salary schedule, if decided upon, could be departed from under any circumstances whatsoever--even by authority of the Minister.⁵

In his report to the Annual General Meeting that same year, the General Secretary repeated word for word what he had written in this editorial and therefore, these misgivings were now planted and eventually

⁵A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 20, No. 7, p. 2.

would become crystallized.⁶ It was apparent that an about-face was in the making. Subsequent events proved that this would become the case. But it is imperative that the trend away from a provincial scale be traced up to open opposition.

In an editorial in 1943, the General Secretary again wrote in his inimitable style by first praising and then criticizing as follows:

A province-wide scale of salaries is in the air. The last Trustees' Convention of Alberta thus went on record. What a splendid idea! Just think of the amount of time that could be saved both by the trustees and the teachers in haggling over salaries.

But just a minute! Having conceded that a provincial schedule seems at first sight sound in principle, before taking the leap, it might be well to consider probable and practical difficulties of its working out and particularly should teachers weigh the arguments of its sponsors when advocating a provincial salary schedule. . . .

It establishes without any distortion whatsoever that the fundamental objective is to put an effective brake on the Law of Supply and Demand, as it affects teachers and their pay.⁷

Again in the report to the Annual General Meeting in 1944, the General Secretary asked the question: "Would a provincial salary schedule even if based on the best salary schedule in operation today, be entirely adequate?"⁸ and then proceeded to answer his question by saying in effect that he foresaw increases in salaries coming by pitting the concessions of one school board against those of another school board and therefore a provincial scale which tended towards stabilization was undesirable.⁹

Nonetheless, the Annual General Meeting of 1944 went on record with this motion: "That we recommend to the Central Executive that a committee be set up to investigate the advantages and disadvantages of a provincial

⁶A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 20, No. 9, p. 14.

⁷A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 24, No. 2, pp. 1-2.

⁸A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 24, No. 7, p. 12. ⁹Ibid., p. 13.

salary schedule."¹⁰ In January, 1945, the Executive Council in one of its meetings issued this statement: "The Executive agreed to support the Alberta School Trustees' Association in their request for a commission to investigate the question of a provincial salary schedule."¹¹ The Annual General Meeting of 1945, again passed a resolution: "That the Association demands a basic schedule of salaries for teachers in the Province, such schedule to provide for basic minimum salaries and also for annual increments for experience and other increments for special qualifications."¹²

As an indication that the Executive Council was moving in the direction of a provincial scale, the following information was noted in February, 1946:

The Government is appointing a commission or committee, consisting of two teachers and two trustees under an independent chairman, all to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, to make recommendations with respect to a Provincial salary schedule. The General Secretary was nominated to serve as one A.T.A. representative on the committee, and the Executive nominated three other teachers, one of whom will be appointed by the Government as the second teacher member.¹³

This commission took some time to get off the drafting board because in an editorial in May, 1946, the General Secretary wrote:

The proposed Provincial Schedule received some attention. The matter has been in the air for some time and the Minister has gone so far as to undertake to provide an impartial chairman for a proposed committee of representatives of the Alberta Teachers' Association and the Alberta School Trustees' Association which would draft a schedule. . . .¹⁴

¹⁰A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 24, No. 8, p. 29.

¹¹A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 25, No. 3, p. 22.

¹²A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 25, No. 7, p. 39.

¹³A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 26, No. 5, p. 13.

¹⁴A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 26, No. 8, p. 2.

In the presidential address to the Annual General Meeting that year, the President of the Association stated:

I would also recommend that the Alberta Teachers' Association urge the Provincial Government to appoint a commission to formulate a Provincial Salary Schedule, and that the Alberta Teachers' Association cooperate in such a project.¹⁵

In the meantime, a new General Secretary was appointed on the retirement of the old one, and now the tone became somewhat different as evidenced by the words in an editorial of November, 1946:

A Provincial Salary Schedule Survey Commission has been appointed and has met on three occasions. . .any campaign now for a Provincial Salary Schedule should be regarded as unpractical. . . . As it is likely that any Provincial schedule, once established, would not be as readily amended as a number of local agreements, it should be emphasized that caution must be exercised in all negotiations for a Provincial Salary Schedule.¹⁶

Nonetheless, in the summer of 1947, "The Provincial Executive appointed a Committee to study the possibilities of a Provincial Salary Schedule for the teachers of Alberta"¹⁷, and in March, 1948, the President of the Association wrote in a discussion of provincial salary schedules and the setting up of a committee to study same: "It does not necessarily imply adherence to a single salary, positional, or to any other salary theory. The bogey of coercion is not even around the corner. Schedules will be freely negotiated through committees as they now are."¹⁸ In the same issue of the A.T.A. Magazine, the following was reported:

At the meeting of representatives of the Alberta School Trustees' Association, the Department of Education and the Department of Trade

¹⁵Ibid., p. 6. ¹⁶A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 27, No. 2, p. 1.

¹⁷A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 28, No. 1, p. 8.

¹⁸A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 28, No. 6, p. 5.

and Industry, and the Alberta Teachers' Association on February 12, the representatives of the trustees said they were in favor of higher salaries for well-qualified teachers and that their objective in pressing for a Provincial Salary Schedule was not to keep salaries down but to give all school boards their fair share of the well-trained, experienced teachers.¹⁹

The same year, 1948, a series of three resolutions, one sponsored by the Provincial Executive and the other two sponsored by Local Associations were brought before the Annual General Meeting advocating a Provincial Salary Schedule.²⁰ The resolution finally passed by the Annual General Meeting of 1948 read as follows:

Be It Resolved: that the Annual General Meeting of the Alberta Teachers' Association direct the Executive Council to cooperate with the Alberta School Trustees' Association, the Department of Education, the Department of Trade and Industry in making a thorough study of the possibilities and practicabilities of establishing a Provincial Salary Schedule with the understanding that no commitment in the name of the Alberta Teachers' Association will be made without securing the approval of the Councillors in general meeting assembled.²¹

In 1949, the Provincial Executive again sponsored a resolution that "favors the adoption of a Provincial Salary Schedule"²² but in his annual report, the General Secretary stated: "The adoption of a Provincial Salary Schedule does not appear to be imminent."²³ At the same time the resolution agreed upon by the Annual General Meeting of 1949 now was worded as follows:

Whereas: the present system of collective bargaining between local groups of teachers and their employing boards has in the main proved

¹⁹Ibid., p. 27.

²⁰Ibid., p. 35 and p. 43.

²¹A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 29, No. 1, p. 37.

²²A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 29, No. 7, p. 46.

²³A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 29, No. 8, p. 47.

satisfactory to date; but whereas: there is merit in the principle of one salary schedule for all teachers in the Province,
 Be It Resolved: that this Annual General Meeting endorse participation by our Executive in further conferences with the Department of Education and the Alberta School Trustees' Association with a view to arriving at a definite Provincial Salary Schedule proposal for submission to councillors in General Meeting.²⁴

In subsequent years, 1950 to 1953 inclusive, an identical resolution was passed every year and the General Secretary in a report to the Annual General Meeting of 1953, stated:

The Alberta School Trustees' Association continues to press for the adoption of a Provincial Salary Schedule. Acting on instructions of the Annual General Meeting, the Alberta Teachers' Association has taken part in discussions of this proposal. It would appear that considerable financial support would be necessary to make any worthwhile provincial scale a reality.²⁵

During the 1953 Banff Workshop, the group dealing with collective bargaining issued five counter arguments to a Provincial Salary Schedule. These were a direct result of the employment by the Association of an economic expert from Toronto and were now expressed by an influential member of the Executive Council whose interest lay in collective bargaining. The arguments advanced were of this nature:

- (1) . . .what would happen to experimentation in salary schedule design?
- (2) . . .as long as teachers are relatively underpaid there will be a teacher shortage. . . .
- (3) . . .how close would we be drifting towards a salary commission?. . .
- (4) . . .the difficulties encountered in making use of the full provisions of The Alberta Labour Act. . . .
- (5) . . .there is a need for money. . . .²⁶

For the Annual General Meeting of 1954, the General Secretary

²⁴ A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 29, No. 9, p. 49.

²⁵ A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 33, No. 9, p. 26.

²⁶ A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 34, No. 9, p. 11.

reported that: "The Association has continued discussions concerning a provincial salary schedule with the Alberta School Trustees' Association. A report of these discussions will be tabled during the Annual General Meeting."²⁷

From the evidence thus far shown, the General Secretary had succeeded in his arguments against a provincial salary schedule, but only after getting the help of an influential member of the Executive Council who was quite well versed in various aspects of collective bargaining learned after repeated contacts with an economic expert employed specifically by the Association. The result of the 1954 Annual General Meeting was the following resolution which has guided the Association in its views towards a Provincial Salary Schedule ever since:

Be it Resolved: that the Annual General Meeting is opposed to the adoption of a Provincial Salary Schedule at the present time.²⁸

The passing of the above resolution marked a distinct turning point in the views of the Association in regard to a Provincial Salary Schedule. It would be expected that from then on, the leaders of the Association would do everything in their power to see that no outside agency would implement such a schedule. In other words, there was now set out a distinct policy or goal, and with efficient organization the possibility was that any incursion on this policy would face defeat. Subsequent events proved this surmise to be correct.

In reviewing this background information, the evidence points to four significant facts: (a) the Annual General Meeting endorsed a Provincial Salary Schedule in the first place; (b) the General Secretary

²⁷A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 34, No. 9, p. 14.

²⁸Ibid., p. 31.

gradually turned against it; (c) the Provincial Executive and the Annual General Meeting continued to advocate a provincial salary schedule; and (d) the General Secretary by procrastination gradually turned the Annual General Meeting against it. How was it possible for the General Secretary finally to influence the decisions? There were a number of reasons but some of the main ones were: (a) the General Secretary used delaying tactics by never actually acting on the recommendations of the Annual General Meeting or the Provincial Executive; (b) salaries were fluctuating but in the post-war years were gradually rising so that by the adoption of a Provincial Scale, it was quite possible that the rate of salary increases would be retarded; (c) the trustees supported the proposal too wholeheartedly so that a natural distrust of the idea developed; and (d) the Association had instituted the Banff Workshop which included a study of collective bargaining by bringing in economic experts from outside. These experts advocated that the best way to raise salaries was to place the concessions of one school board against those of another school board. There was more to be gained by disparity than by uniformity.

THE IMMEDIATE ISSUE

In the early 1950's salaries of teachers began to rise, at first imperceptibly, but eventually at an accelerated rate. In no small measure, the rise was due to the teacher shortage prevalent in the Province and also to the higher payment of teachers by one school board as opposed to another in order to staff its schools. The Alberta Teachers' Association capitalized on this sort of rivalry to the extent that both minimum and maximum salaries continued to be increased. In order to meet these increases in

salaries it was necessary for school boards either to raise the mill rate or ask for increased government grants. However, for some time the Government of the Province of Alberta had indicated that it was alarmed over the rising costs of education and attributed these rising costs in some measure to the fact that teachers' salaries were gradually being scaled upwards. This did not mean that there was no justification for an increase in salaries or that increased salaries were the only cause of higher costs in education. On the contrary, the whole question of the teacher shortage could be directly traced to the fact that salaries were so low that high school graduates were not entering the teaching profession and teachers, themselves, were leaving teaching to enter other fields of work where remuneration was more lucrative.

On September 11, 1956, the Minister of Education, speaking at a conference of the Alberta Committee on Teacher Recruitment and Retention (a direct result of the teacher shortage) posed these two questions for consideration:

- (1) Should there be a province-wide salary schedule applicable to all teachers employed by school districts and divisions throughout the province; and should such schedule include provision for merit rating and additional remuneration for teachers offering instruction in courses of the high school program? . . .
- (2) Should salary schedules for teachers continue to be matter for collective bargaining between individual school boards and their teacher employees in accordance with the terms and provisions of The Alberta Labour Act, or can some other better procedure be found and adopted?²⁹

It is interesting to note that the incumbent Minister of Education, prior to his election to the Legislature, had been a District Representa-

²⁹The Alberta Teachers' Association, "Minutes of the Emergent General Meeting, March 9, 1957" (Mimeographed), p. 7.

tive on the Executive Council of the Alberta Teachers' Association for a number of years, especially those years when a Provincial Salary Schedule was being advocated by the Provincial Executive.

The Minister further elaborated his two queries as follows:

Trustees have stated on numerous occasions that they are becoming very weary of the never-ending processions of annual negotiations and the many disputes over salary schedules which are consuming a great deal of time and effort of both parties. There are also an increasing number of citizens who wonder whether the Alberta Teachers' Association should now be regarded as a labour union or as a professional organization, particularly when they recall that there have been three strikes on the part of local groups of teachers in very recent times.³⁰

The reactions of the leaders of the Alberta Teachers' Association were not immediate since these were only queries. However, in the December, 1956, issue of the A.T.A. Magazine, the General Secretary firmly denounced any attempt to impose a provincial salary schedule on the teachers of Alberta³¹, acting, it is presumed, on the official policy of the Annual General Meeting of 1954, which had affirmed opposition to the establishment of a uniform salary scale.³² In early February, 1957, an editorial written by the Assistant General Secretary in the official organ of the Association reiterated the stand of the Association as being opposed to a provincial salary scale.³³ As yet the Government had not indicated any concrete proposals which would signify the implementation of a provincial salary schedule, but eventually did by the Speech from the Throne in mid-February, 1957, which read in part:

³⁰Ibid. ³¹A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 47-48.

³²A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 34, No. 9, p. 31.

³³A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 37, No. 6, p. 5.

A study also will be made to determine the feasibility of introducing a uniform scale of salaries for all teachers employed by school districts, divisions, and counties.³⁴

The conflict now had a definite basis because the permanent staff had consistently opposed a uniform salary schedule from 1940, but did not really know what the Government intended to do about it until the Speech from the Throne in 1957. At this point, it should be emphasized that the General Secretary, the Editor of the A.T.A. Magazine, and the Annual General Meeting of 1954 had already set the framework, in the case of the former two, by their comments, and in the case of the latter, by its resolution, for an immediate reaction by the teachers as a body. To say that the two permanent staff officers foresaw the contents of the Speech from the Throne would probably be in error; to say that they had second sight would probably be closer to the truth because all evidence points to previous indications that such a step would be taken by the Government.

THE REACTION TO THE SPEECH FROM THE THRONE

As a direct consequence of the Speech from the Throne, a special meeting of the Executive Council was called and held on February 23, 1957. At this meeting, it was decided to call an Emergency General Meeting of the Councillors of all the Locals for March 9, 1957.³⁵ This meeting was subsequently held and the main topic of business was the Association's stand in view of the Speech from the Throne. Two speakers, the President

³⁴The Alberta School Trustees' Association, A.S.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 27, No. 3, p. 1.

³⁵A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 37, No. 7, p. 63.

and a permanent staff officer, outlined the position that ought to be taken by the Association. Accordingly, the following resolution was carried unanimously:

Whereas: The Alberta Teachers' Association is established to advance and promote the cause of education and interests of teachers under conditions which will make possible the best professional service in this province; and

Whereas: it is essential that the profession retain and reaffirm its independence, strength, and freedom from domination, Therefore Be It Resolved, that this Association is opposed to any legislation tending to alter its status from an independent profession to a classification of the civil service subject to governmental or political influence, and further

Be It Resolved, that this Association is opposed to any legislation detracting from its members' rights under The Alberta Labour Act by the establishment of a provincial salary schedule or otherwise, and further

Be It Resolved, that the Alberta Teachers' Association through the Executive Council take all necessary steps to protect and preserve the objects of the Association, the dignity and independence of the profession, and the interests of the public.³⁶

The resolution had been originally drafted by the Executive Council and written by the permanent staff. It constituted a direct appeal that these two groups be given the power to proceed as was necessary in view of impeding the impending curbing legislation by the Government of the Province. The original call for the meeting of the Executive Council stemmed from the permanent Executive Staff because this new issue definitely needed the concept of "official backing" of the rank and file. The next procedure was for the Executive Staff and certain members of the Executive Council to travel throughout the Province in order to muster the support of the rank and file and Local officials for the stand taken. At the Annual General Meeting of 1957, the original stand of opposition to any provincial

³⁶"Minutes of the Emergent General Meeting, March 9, 1957," op. cit., pp. 14 and 15.

salary schedule was reiterated.

WHAT WAS THE BLACKSTOCK COMMISSION?

On the ninth day of July, 1957, a commission consisting of three members and headed by Gilbert McNeill Blackstock, Q.C., was set up by Order-in-Council. The Commission was authorized and directed to consider:

- (a) the feasibility of establishing a scale or scales of salaries for teachers in the Province;
- (b) the form or forms which such salary scales might take;
- (c) the manner by which such salary scales might be arrived at and altered from time to time;
- (d) the effects of the establishment of teacher salary scales upon
 - (i) the local government process in regard to schools,
 - (ii) the financing of education both in the Province generally and in particular areas within the province, and
 - (iii) the supply of teachers and upon the quality and morale of the teaching profession generally;
 and to report thereon to the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council and to make such recommendations to the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council as the said Commissioners may in their discretion consider proper and advisable.³⁷

The initial threat had now become real and went under the appellation of the "Blackstock Commission" because of the name of the individual heading the inquiry. It is interesting to note that one of the other members of the Commission was a former President of the Alberta Teachers' Association. The leaders of the Association in perceiving this Commission as a threat were now compelled to muster their forces and employ various tactics in order to combat the effects of this real threat to its control. Above all, the cohesiveness of the Association was to be assured.

³⁷Government of Alberta, "Report of the Royal Commission on the Feasibility of Establishing a Scale or Scales of Salaries for Teachers in the Province of Alberta and Allied Matters, January, 1958" (mimeographed), p. 2.

THE ACTION OF THE ALBERTA TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

The hearings before the Commission were to commence on September 12, 1957. At the Executive Council meeting of September 6 and 7, it was decided to attend the sessions and thereby gain some time for the preparation of the necessary rebuttal brief.³⁸ The Commission met on September 12, 1957, and The Alberta Teachers' Association was represented by Counsel (a lawyer from its firm of retained lawyers) who read a statement outlining the stand that his client (The Alberta Teachers' Association) was taking. The submission of The Alberta Teachers' Association was in part as follows:

- (1) That the Alberta Teachers' Association supports wholeheartedly any measure designed to advance the interest of education in this Province.
- (2) That the present method of establishing teachers' salaries is an eminently satisfactory one and that no intelligent reasons appeared for departing from it.³⁹

In the discussion which followed the oral presentation by Counsel for The Alberta Teachers' Association, it became evident that The Alberta Teachers' Association intended to withdraw from the hearings unless permitted to present a brief in rebuttal after hearing all the other presentations. According to the Report of the Commission:

Commission is of the opinion that the Alberta Teachers' Association was not sincere and that it did not intend to observe the requirements of the Commission. It would appear that the Alberta Teachers' Association had decided upon a course of conduct and did not intend to recede therefrom.⁴⁰

Further, the Report states:

The Alberta Teachers' Association, finding that it was subject to very simple rules and finding that it could not dominate the proceedings of the Commission, withdrew from all further participation

³⁸A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 38, No. 2, p. 63.

³⁹"Report of the Royal Commission", op. cit., pp. 7-8. ⁴⁰Ibid., p. 9.

in the proceedings of the Commission. It was advised by letter that the Commission considered its co-operation would be very essential and was asked to continue active participation in the deliberations of the Commission. It declined to do so.⁴¹

After the leaders of The Alberta Teachers' Association withdrew from the Commission's hearings primarily on a point of law or procedure, the next steps were taken to justify their action to the rank and file and also to ally public opinion to their side by way of the daily newspapers and radio. In regard to the former procedure, the General Secretary wrote in October, 1957:

As you know, after the opening day, the A.T.A. withdrew. Since September 12, the members of the Executive Council and the executive officers have been busy attending meetings of local associations to inform teachers throughout the province about what happened and to explain the reasons for our withdrawal. From September 23 to October 8, sixty-two meetings were held with local associations. In addition to these, a meeting of presidents of locals was held in Edmonton on September 21, attended by sixty-six presidents or their representatives. Also, there have been two special meetings of the Executive Council.⁴²

To add to the stand taken by The Alberta Teachers' Association, the radio in Alberta was used, in effect, to defend the action of the Association and criticize the Commission.⁴³

THE REPORT OF THE BLACKSTOCK COMMISSION

The Commission held hearings at the major centers of Edmonton, Calgary, Lethbridge, and Grande Prairie. After listening to a fairly substantial number of briefs, the Commission reported various conclusions and recommendations which attempted to answer the terms of reference as

⁴¹Ibid., p. 11. ⁴²A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 38, No. 2, p. 63.

⁴³"Report of the Royal Commission. . .," op. cit., p. 10.

laid down in the original Order-in-Council. One of the major conclusions arrived at by the Commission and one which seemed to be the guiding line for the recommendations was worded as follows:

Your Commission does not wish to be dogmatic, but throughout the evidence, it would appear that the Alberta Teachers' Association exercises a dominating influence over salary negotiations to the discomfiture of school trustees. The strength of the Alberta Teachers' Association and its ability to provide skilled, highly trained negotiators, afford striking advantages to that body in negotiations and with that, there are corresponding disadvantages to trustees.⁴⁴

As gathered from the above conclusion of the Commission, the Report arrived at the following major recommendation:

In the opinion of your Commission it is completely feasible to establish a scale or scales of salaries for teachers in this Province. In this regard the evidence is conclusive and no cogent evidence in rebuttal was adduced.⁴⁵

THE DISPOSAL OF THE REPORT

According to the General Secretary of The Alberta Teachers' Association:

On February 27, the report of the Blackstock Royal Commission was tabled in the Legislative Assembly by the Minister of Education, who told the press that no action will be taken by the Legislature this year, if at all, in regard to the report.⁴⁶

Further, the General Secretary of the Association in quoting the Edmonton Journal reported that:

The Royal Commission on uniform teachers' salaries cost the Alberta Government \$10,126, according to information tabled in the Legislature Thursday. Expenses of the Commission were \$9,185, and it

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 114.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 116.

⁴⁶A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 38, No. 6., p. 63.

cost \$941 to have the report printed.⁴⁷

In April at the Annual General Meeting of the Association, the Assistant General Secretary delivered a lengthy address outlining: the stand of the Association's leaders, the Report itself, and the general disposition of the Report. In regard to the reasons for the stand taken by the Association, the following in part was stated:

The position of the A.T.A. with respect to the establishment of a uniform salary scale for teachers is clear to the extent that the public knows of our opposition. However, because the Association withdrew from the Commission's hearings, it was not possible to make public the reasons for our opposition before the Commission's report was released. Notwithstanding that the report now appears to be a dead issue, it would seem desirable, as a matter of record, to make abundantly plain the reasons for the Association's adamant and continuing opposition to the principle of a uniform salary scale for teachers. These reasons are:

- x- An inviolate principle of collective bargaining is that the employer and his employees should negotiate the terms and conditions under which service shall be performed. . . .
- x- To establish a uniform salary scale for teachers would, in effect, "socialize" Alberta teachers. . . .
- x- The complete control of teachers' salaries by a government appointed tribunal must inevitably result in political control. . . .
- x- History shows us that government control of teachers and teaching can with disturbing regularity lead to interference with intellectual freedom. . . .
- x- Every proposal advanced by the Alberta School Trustees' Association executive for changes in collective bargaining rights for teachers has been aimed at reducing the effectiveness of teachers in the bargaining situation. . . .
- x- The Alberta Teachers' Association has opposed in principle the idea of more and more centralized control by government. . . .
- x- The present system of collective bargaining between school boards and teachers permits experimentation in the matter of determining the various factors of a salary schedule and the various personnel policy benefits that go to make up a complete agreement. . . .
- x- Compulsory arbitration is nothing more than a totalitarian expedient. . . .
- x- Uniform salary scales as we know them are more productive of mediocrity than anything else. . . .
- x- The disparity existing in salary scales throughout the province is a normal state of affairs. . . .
- x- In the many discussions which the Alberta Teachers' Association has had over the years with trustees and government officials, it has

become apparent that neither the trustees nor the government have assumed that a uniform scale would be at least equal to the best scale current in the province.⁴⁸

The address by the Assistant General Secretary concluded with the statement that: "The undivided strength of Alberta's 9,500 teachers will always be vigilant in guarding their rights as citizens."⁴⁹

SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

The above assessment indicates that a definite change in goals had come about in the affairs of the Association. Throughout this change, it was shown that the active minority decided what the new goals should be. With regard to the final disposition of the Report, it is evident that the Association's leaders had taken an unequivocal stand against the Commission in the first place. Their major duty was to ally the various other interest groups in the body politic by way of the mass media of communication. In this regard they were successful. As well, the evidence points to the fact that the active minority had to ally the rank and file of teachers to its way of thinking. By their numerous meetings, they were successful in presenting a united front to the Government. It was possible for this interest group to nullify a Report of a Royal Commission. It was also concluded that the leaders were able to see the ramifications of a provincial salary scale in much deeper perspective than the rank and file because of their experience in the affairs of the Association. The result was that when the time came for swift and incisive

⁴⁸A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 38, No. 8, pp. 19-22.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 22.

action, the leaders acted and then consulted the rank and file who, in large measure and in all probability, failed to see such ramifications as "compulsory arbitration", "centralized control by government", and that "inviolable principles" were about to be violated. The question remains as to how long a "principle" must be in effect before it becomes "inviolable". In the case of a provincial salary schedule, it was a tenet of the Association for at least thirty-four years that such a schedule was desirable, but in the space of four years, this desire was completely obliterated.

Four major concepts were derived from this chapter: (1) as long as conditions are favorable to the organization, an organization does not disturb the status quo; (2) when a threat to the status quo arises, speed and unitary leadership are possible in an organization; (3) in the case of this threat it was actually a threat to the leadership in that had a Commission been established to govern salaries in the Province, the appointees to such a Commission would have been on a par with the leaders of The Alberta Teachers' Association and furthermore would have represented the interests of the body politic as against the interests of one segment of society; and (4) by concerted action an interest group can have an effect on proposed legislation because the Government does listen to it.

It may be stated that the success of the Association in this matter was due in large measure to these facts: the leaders understood the issue, they knew what to do, and they were agreed in their course of action. These facts permitted prompt, decisive action which determined the resolving of the issue in favor of the Association.

CHAPTER XI

THE ALBERTA TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION AND THE FOUNDATION

PROGRAM PLAN IN ALBERTA

From the previous chapters, it may have been erroneously conjectured that The Alberta Teachers' Association has a profound effect on all legislation affecting education passed by the Provincial Government. To dispel such a conjecture, it is necessary to examine an example of legislation affecting education in the Province of Alberta where The Alberta Teachers' Association has had little if any effect in its determination. Any effect which the Association may have had was indirect only.

The legislation in question is the Foundation Program Plan passed by the Legislature of the Province. This Plan is a method of financing the costs of education. The reason for selecting this issue of financing education is not only to show that The Alberta Teachers' Association had little if any effect on its inception, but also as Benson states: "It is interesting to note that the Rockefeller Brothers Fund has reported, 'All the problems of the schools lead us back sooner or later to the one basic problem--financing.'"¹

The examination focuses on: (a) the events which transpired prior to the announcement of the Foundation Program Plan; (b) the announcement of the Foundation Program Plan and how the leaders of the Association reacted; (c) the Plan itself relative to the Association; and (d) subsequent

¹Charles S. Benson, The Economics of Public Education (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961), p. 3.

modifications in the Plan and how these have been viewed by the Association's leaders.

THE BACKGROUND

The leaders of The Alberta Teachers' Association have always exhibited keen interest in the financing of education in this Province. In no small measure this interest was due to the fact that any method of obtaining and spending sufficient funds to pay for the costs of education would probably have an effect on the salaries of teachers. As early as 1920, the old teachers' Alliance passed a resolution

Urging the Department of Education and the Provincial Government to bring all possible pressure to bear upon the Dominion Government to amend the Dominion Lands Act so as to release the capital funds derived from school lands in Alberta and now making up the endowment, and to have the yield of same applied in providing all school boards in the Province with funds for the construction of school buildings, and for better educational facilities.²

The same year, in connection with one scheme of finance, the General Secretary of the Alliance wrote:

Teachers of taxation and students of taxation ought to be interested in this new-old form of wresting taxes from the people. Through much earnest persuasion Medicine Hat City Council succeeded in getting the Legislature to grant permission to raise a rental tax to be used for educational purposes. . . .The tax is vicious. It could have been raised on the mill rate. . . .Teachers should be observant of these conditions and circumstances. Education is costing more. Taxes must therefore be higher, and salaries must be higher, too.³

From the very beginning, the teachers' organization was interested in finance and in 1921, stated as part of its educational platform these

²The Alberta Teachers' Alliance, A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 27.

³A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 5.

three major tenets: "Increased Government grants; equality of educational opportunity; and a blanket educational tax spread over the Province."⁴

The General Secretary and others in the Alliance seemed to recognize at an early date that the financing of education was going to affect the wages of the teachers, so much so, that in 1921, a resolution sent in by the Cardston Local was voted through, viz.:

That a blanket tax be placed upon all assessable property throughout the Province for the purpose of paying teachers' salaries, thereby distributing the burden and not making teachers' salaries entirely dependent upon the taxable limit of penurious or small school districts.⁵

Moreover, even in subsequent years, the Association's leaders were concerned primarily with overall financing. In 1931, the General Secretary stated as one of the aims of the Alliance: "A more equitable distribution of the burden of supporting the educational system: largely increased government grants."⁶ As evidence of this earlier statement, in his report to the Annual General Meeting of 1943, the General Secretary stated: "We reiterate our opinion that education should become less and less dependent on local taxation on land for its support. . . ."⁷ It was always hoped that the teachers as a body could have some effect on any legislation which affected the financing of education. In fact, in some instances, considerable pressure was brought to bear on the Members of the Legislative Assembly, as is illustrated by this notice which appeared in the A.T.A. Magazine in March, 1947:

⁵Ibid., p. 7. ⁶A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 12, No. 5, p. 19.

⁷A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 23, No. 9, p. 22.

Attention Teachers!

Have you mailed that letter to your M.L.A.?

What Letter!

The letter asking him to advocate and support--

1. Legislation to increase school grants to 50% of the total cost of elementary and secondary education.

2. Legislation to increase retirement allowances for teachers.

3. Legislation to raise the statutory minimum salary for teachers.

Every teacher should write to his local M.L.A.

It is not too Late.

Do it now!

Have you received the POST CARDS from the secretary of your Local Association?

Have you had them signed by residents of your district and have they been mailed to the local M.L.A.?

It is not too Late.

Do it Now!⁸

At the same time, certain of the Association's leaders recognized that any method of financing the costs of education was contingent on the economic prosperity of the times. In this regard, a District Representative on the Executive Council of the Association who later became Minister of Education for the Province, wrote in a discussion of teachers' salaries as related to provincial income in 1947:

It is the hope of the writer of this article that the data given here will strengthen the determination of the Association, salary negotiating committees, and individual members to secure really substantial pay increases. . . .We have a right to share in the general prosperity of these times. Let none deny us the right!⁹

In the academic year, 1958-59, a study of school grants was conducted by the Division of Educational Administration of the University of Alberta after having been requested to do so by two groups, The Alberta School Trustees' Association, and The Alberta Teachers' Association. The individuals responsible for the study released a brochure entitled, "A

⁸A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 27, No. 6, p. 23.

⁹A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 27, No. 9, p. 12.

Study of School Grants in Alberta with Reference to Certain Problems of Distributing Aid."¹⁰ Basically, the study suggested a Foundation Program for financing the costs of education. The concept was not new in educational finance, but it was new for Alberta, and furthermore, it was adapted to the economic conditions in Alberta. On October 13, 14, and 15, of 1959, interested groups met in a Seminar at Banff in order to discuss various aspects of this study by looking at such topics as: (a) Major Features of the Present School Grants System; (b) Strengths and Weaknesses of the Present Grants System; and (c) Some Guiding Principles Regarding School Grants.¹¹ The groups represented at this Seminar were The Alberta School Trustees' Association, The Alberta Teachers' Association, the Department of Education of the Province, and the Division of Educational Administration of the University of Alberta.

In November, 1959, the Executive Secretary of The Alberta Teachers' Association reported on this seminar in part as follows:

One proposed change in distributing the grant monies was discussed at length. This is called the foundation program. Educationally, the foundation program consists of the minimum basic educational services required in our province. Financially, the program is the cost of these basic educational services. . . . The measure to be used for the financial cost of the foundation program is of vital concern to teachers.¹²

In December, 1959, the President of The Alberta Teachers'

¹⁰Division of Educational Administration, "A Study of School Grants in Alberta with Reference to Certain Problems of Distributing Aid" (mimeographed), 1959.

¹¹Division of Educational Administration, "Seminar on School Grants, Tentative Program, 1959" (mimeographed), pp. 1-2.

¹²A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 40, No. 3, p. 48.

Association also discussed the seminar in a comment as follows:

Significant agreement on basic principles of school grant structure emerging from this seminar included:

- x- that the present narrow local tax base is inadequate for the needs of education today;
- x- that the equalization principle is vital in any structure but that the present formula needs revamping;
- x- that school boards must be fiscally independent;
- x- that local autonomy in educational matters is basic and must never be discarded.¹³

A few months later, in April, 1960, the Executive Secretary of The Alberta Teachers' Association delivered his report to the Annual General Meeting and referred to educational finance in the following terms:

Our Association has been for some time cooperating with The Alberta School Trustees' Association in the study of school grants. A pamphlet entitled "School Grants" produced by the Division of Educational Administration at the University of Alberta was prepared for the two organizations. In October, 1959, a three-day seminar was held in Banff. There, by panel and discussion, the present grant structure with its strengths and weaknesses was carefully scrutinized. The general outline of a foundation program proposal was presented. All agreed that equalization of basic educational services is desirable. Our own representatives are quite concerned that the grant structure should encourage school boards to employ experienced teachers who are well qualified, if this can be accomplished without any implication of a provincial salary schedule. It is the intention of the Executive Council that there be continued participation on our part in the study of school grants.¹⁴

In attendance at the seminar were three representatives from The Alberta Teachers' Association, namely: the President, the Executive Secretary, and one of the Executive Assistants who played some part in the writing of the "School Grants" study itself.¹⁵

¹³ A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 40, No. 4, pp. 40-41.

¹⁴ A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 40, No. 9, pp. 28-29.

¹⁵ Alberta Teachers' Association, "Minutes of Executive Meeting, October 2 and 3, 1959" (mimeographed), p. 5.

The continued participation by The Alberta Teachers' Association in conferences with The Alberta School Trustees' Association concerning school grants was being carried out. Subsequently, the Executive Secretary reported on one of these joint meetings in the September, 1960, issue of the A.T.A. Magazine, in the following manner:

A second matter considered was school grants. A proposed foundation program which included instructional costs, maintenance costs and transportation costs was presented. Your Association took the position that there should be annual revision of the basic figures and that instructional costs should include both teachers' salaries and other related costs. Neither the trustees nor the teachers was committed to the proposal but both agreed that it was worthy of further exploration. . . .¹⁶

The above outline is of certain significant events which transpired prior to the announcement that the Government intended to implement a Foundation Program Plan in the Province. It is obvious that consultations were in a more or less exploratory stage. It is also obvious that in all probability most of the Association's rank and file did not really know what was going on, but that the leaders did have some indication. At the same time, there is considerable doubt as to whether the leaders of the Association were sufficiently knowledgeable in educational finance as to know all the ramifications of a Foundation Program Plan. Subsequent events would indicate that when the Plan was finally brought forth, the Association's leaders played little, if any part, in its formulation, due to the probable fact that they did not actually know what it was all about and were not as well versed in educational finance as they would have liked to be.

¹⁶A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 41, No. 1, p. 56.

THE REACTION OF THE ALBERTA TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION TO THE
ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE PLAN

On February 27, 1961, the Minister of Education, speaking in the Legislature, announced in some detail the outline of the proposed Foundation Program Plan for financing the costs of education in the Province.¹⁷ In his speech, he, in essence, said that: (a) the Department of Education would requisition all municipal districts at a uniform mill rate on an equalized assessment as being the local share of the costs of education; (b) the Government would contribute the remaining share from its budget; (c) the monies thus obtained would be distributed to the school boards to operate the schools; (d) each school board would receive its share of funds according to a formula which would take into account six major cost factors with calculations based on current figures rather than the past year's figures; and (e) the six major cost factors would be instructional costs, transportation, operation and maintenance, instructional aids, debenture payments, and administration.¹⁸

At a meeting of the Executive Council of the A.T.A. on March 3 and 4 of 1961, the following resolution was passed: "Resolved, that the table officers be responsible for preparing a decision on tax policy, and that they be authorized to engage a consultant and call a special executive meeting."¹⁹

¹⁷The Alberta School Trustees' Association, A.S.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 31, No. 3, p. 2.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 2-3.

¹⁹The Alberta Teachers' Association, "Minutes of Executive Meeting, March 3 and 4, 1961" (mimeographed), p. 2.

Eventually, the reaction of the leaders of The Alberta Teachers' Association was framed in an editorial in the March, 1961, issue of the A.T.A. Magazine by the Assistant Executive Secretary in part as follows:

Enough is now known about the government's new proposal for financing education in this province to venture some opinions. Let us say at the outset that we are not among those who see in the arrangement a new deal in educational finance. . . . But the more we hear about the plan, the more uneasy we become. . . . If our guess is right, it becomes obvious that the government's new program is designed to "hold the line". While we can applaud the broadening of the tax base, the drive to full equalization, and the proposed guarantee of a basic standard of educational opportunity for all children in the schools of this province, we cannot help but feel that, with the implementation of this program, school boards may be left with only vestigial elements of what was once fiscal independence. In the long run it may be the death knell of local autonomy.²⁰

It may be from the previous motion for retaining a consultant and the speculative nature of the editorial that the leaders of the Association were not too sure just what the Plan entailed.

In the meantime, the Government announced that it would hear submissions before its Agricultural Committee by interested groups or individuals regarding modifications to the proposed Foundation Program Plan. According to the Executive Secretary of The Alberta Teachers' Association:

At a meeting of the table officers on March 30, it was decided that the Association should make a submission, and the broad outlines were discussed. Good Friday, March 31, found all staff officers in Barnett House, from 2 until 9 p.m., working on parts of the brief. . . . It is the product of combined staff effort. On Saturday, April 1, it was approved by the Executive Council.²¹

The dates of the hearings of the Agricultural Committee coincided with the dates of the Annual General Meeting of the Association. However,

²⁰A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 41, No. 7, pp. 6-7.

²¹A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 41, No. 9, p. 62.

prior to the submission of the brief, various articles were written concerning the Government's proposal. In an editorial in the April, 1961, issue of the A.T.A. Magazine, the Assistant Executive Secretary wrote in part concerning the hearings and the Plan:

Surely the government could have done better than this. Admittedly, requests for such a hearing came late but that was in large part due to the piecemeal and fragmentary revelation of details of the plan as the session wore on. Much, much better would have been an announcement that the plan would be deferred to permit time to study the ramifications and implications of a matter of such grave importance to all citizens of this province.

As yet there has been no announcement concerning the government's intentions. However, if the premier's appeal for the cooperation of municipal and school authorities is to be taken as a hint, there is not much doubt that the government juggernaut will go ahead with or without modification in the plan.

The most unfortunate aspect of the whole situation is that school authorities, the ones most vitally concerned with the matter, were not consulted about the plan until after the government had committed itself by spasmodic announcements of parts of the scheme during the current session. There is little wonder that many school boards are wondering just who was consulted before they were sold down the river. . . .As it is, the government's action seems to be one of unseemly haste.²²

It is evident that the editor (the Assistant Executive Secretary) was critical of the Plan and was probably not aware of the fact that at a special one-day convention on March 24, 1961, The Alberta School Trustees' Association had passed the following resolution:

Be it resolved: That this convention approve in principle the Foundation Program of School Finance as outlined by the Minister. And further--that we are confident that the numerous details of the formula will be fairly and efficiently administered by the Department of Education.²³

In the same issue of the A.T.A. Magazine, the Executive Secretary

²²A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 41, No. 8, pp. 4-5.

²³A.S.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 31, No. 4, p. 2.

had published his report to the Annual General Meeting which stated in part:

The Joint Committee favored an informal study of school grants which should follow the Banff Seminar on grants held in October, 1959. . . . A committee consisting of (the A.S.T.A. President and the A.S.T.A. Secretary, members of the Division of Educational Administration, and the A.T.A. Executive Secretary) held 6 meetings during 1960. The basis of the discussion was the foundation program. This may be roughly characterized as a schedule of approved costs, a uniform mill rate for all taxation units, the tax yield per school unit from this uniform levy, and the difference between the first and third being the foundation program grant. Progress reports were submitted to the Joint Committee at each of its 1960 meetings.²⁴

Also in the same issue of the A.T.A. Magazine, the Executive Secretary in his monthly report stated in part:

The government of the province has proposed radical new departures in the financing of education. . . . It is indeed difficult at this early stage to be certain of some other results, additional to the government's intended results, which may follow from the implementation of the proposed plan. The reader is invited to speculate on the following possible results: the per pupil cost of education will be frozen at, or about, the present \$325 per year; the formation of counties in the rural areas will receive a tremendous stimulus; the adoption and use of the provincial equalized assessment will be promoted; control of education will move from elected school boards to municipal and provincial authorities; the amount of educational services will be fixed instead of being related to the actual expenditures of school boards; minimum educational services will be provided at whatever level provincial average expenditures will finance; and education will be provided a somewhat broader tax base.

Of this list of possible results, the most alarming are the implications of a lid or ceiling on educational expenditures and the transfer of control over educational expenditures from school boards to municipal and provincial authorities. If these latter results in fact do follow from the proposed plan, they effectively ring the death knell over the local autonomy of school boards.²⁵

On the basis of the above statements it would seem that the Executive Secretary was concerned about the effects of the Plan. However, it would appear that there was less criticism of the Plan on his part than on

²⁴ A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 41, No. 8, p. 31.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 63.

the part of the Editor of the A.T.A. Magazine. For example, this criticism was indicated by the Editor's saying that he was "uneasy" about the Plan whereas the Executive Secretary only "speculates". In reality, there is every indication that both of them were speculating and were not so versed in educational finance as they appear to give the impression that they are. A case in point would be as to whether they both really had a definite policy as to how the Plan should be criticized.

Even though the dates of the Annual General Meeting coincided with the dates of the hearings before the Agricultural Committee, the writing of the submission to the Agricultural Committee preceded the Annual General Meeting. The submission of The Alberta Teachers' Association to the Agricultural Committee read in part as follows:

We submit that the proposed educational finance plan should be set over for study or should be modified, because--

- x- The proposed educational finance plan restricts local autonomy.
- x- The proposed educational finance plan leaves the main burden of financing education costs to real property.
- x- The proposed educational finance plan equalizes educational services downwards.

We submit that the proposed educational finance plan should be set over for study or should be modified because an adequate program of school finance should--

- x- Assure quality education for the children of the province.
- x- Assure that the provincial government assumes a major percentage of the actual expenditure on education calculated on a province-wide basis.
- x- Assure the fiscal independence of local school boards.
- x- Distribute the provincial support on the basis of a foundation program.²⁶

In all likelihood what the brief meant among other things was that if the Plan should attempt to control expenditures, this would have an adverse effect on teachers' salaries by pegging them. Also, if the Plan

²⁶A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 41, No. 9, pp. 12-15.

should hamper local autonomy, the main level used in collective bargaining would not be available as an advantage to the Association.

At the Annual General Meeting, it was reported that the Executive Secretary:

. . .summarizing his opinions of the discussion at the Legislative Assembly on the government's new finance plan for education, stated that there were three themes as follows:

1. Increased expenditure on education does not necessarily signify increased quality in education.
2. Expenditures on education must be controlled, or kept down, and one of the most expensive parts in education is persons in education who have degrees. The implication is that these persons do no better job than persons with lesser training.
3. In every school system there are some persons employed who are certificated as teachers who are not assigned to a particular classroom. The implication is that these people are not necessary and they should be eliminated.²⁷

In view of the statements made by the Executive Secretary the Annual General Meeting proceeded to a discussion of four resolutions which were not in the original listing of resolutions as published prior to any Annual General Meeting. It should also be noted that on the basis of previous evidence, the Annual General Meeting is controlled by an active minority consisting of people with degrees who are administrators and therefore an appeal of this sort was especially promising.

Since the Executive Council minutes of April 1, 1961, make no reference to the four resolutions, it might be assumed that they came from the floor although for some reason they were read to the Annual General Meeting as if they had not. The implication is that the Executive Staff placed these on the order paper only prior to the Annual General Meeting

²⁷The Alberta Teachers' Association, "Minutes of Annual General Meeting, 1961" (mimeographed), p. 25.

itself because they were announced on April 3, 1961, the first day of the meeting, yet the Executive Council met in special session on April 4, 1961. The four resolutions were related to the Foundation Program Plan and were all carried by the meeting. Resolution C35/61 read as follows:

Be It Resolved, that The Alberta Teachers' Association oppose the trend toward centralization of control of the school systems of Alberta inherent in the Provincial Government's proposed school finance plan as indicated by:

- (a) the setting of a mandatory mill rate rather than a qualifying mill rate for educational tax purposes by the Provincial Government,
- (b) the remittance of school requisitions to the Provincial Government by municipal taxing authorities,
- (c) the proposal to make any requisition of a local school board subject to appeal to the proposed Local Authorities Board,
- (d) the lack of a definite assigned term of office for members of that Board.²⁸

The other three new resolutions passed were of a minor nature and did not engender as much discussion. The first of these was:

Resolution C36/61. . . .Be It Resolved, that The Alberta Teachers' Association reaffirm policy resolution 8.02.²⁹

Policy resolution 8.02 was passed in 1949 and in effect it was directed against the fact that a municipal authority could appeal a school board's requisition to a quasi-judicial board if the requisition exceeded the previous year's requisition by 20 per cent.³⁰

The other two resolutions passed were:

Resolution C37/61. . . .Be It Resolved, that The Alberta Teachers' Association take strong exception to the terms "approved costs" and "unapproved costs" used by the Minister of Education in reference to educational finance.

Resolution C38/61. . . .Be It Resolved, that The Alberta Teachers' Association is opposed to any method of financing education which would limit the improvement in the quality of educational services in Alberta through the restriction of funds.³¹

²⁸Ibid., p. 55. ²⁹Ibid., p. 59. ³⁰Ibid., p. 57. ³¹Ibid.

From the discussion of resolution C35/61, it was evident that very few, if any, of the Councillors knew too much about the Plan and that speculation was rife. It was a case of the Councillors asking speculative questions about the Plan and the permanent Staff members attempting to answer them.³²

THE EFFECT OF THE FOUNDATION PROGRAM PLAN RELATIVE TO
THE ALBERTA TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

Notwithstanding the rather confused opposition to the Foundation Program Plan, the legislation was passed. There was little opposition on the part of the leaders of the Association to the principle of the Plan. The opposition was directed towards certain aspects of the formula used to determine the payments to each school unit and to the overall amount being placed into the Fund by the Government. Also, a certain amount of opposition was voiced against the mill rate's being based on real property taxation. It is not the purpose of this study to decide whether the arguments against the Plan were valid or for that matter to defend the Plan itself. The purpose is to see what the arguments of the leaders of the Association were and how these arguments eventually became clarified.

In his monthly report to the membership published in the May, 1961, issue of the A.T.A. Magazine, the Executive Secretary gave an outline of the Foundation Program Plan in a very factual manner, but concluded:

By now, the equalized assessment for municipalities is known, and the local tax required to raise the Department of Education levy is being calculated. It is estimated that 30 of the larger school units in the province will receive less money for education than they would

³²Ibid., pp. 56-58.

have under the former grant system and previous rates of local taxation. Are there any which will receive more money?³³

Prior to the above statement, the Executive Secretary in speaking to an Economic Consultants' Meeting of teachers on April 22, 1961, stated in reference to teacher reaction to the Foundation Program Plan that:

The general reaction will probably be negative because a cutback is implied, which in turn may mean heavier teaching loads and a cut in the rate of salary increases.³⁴

This statement indicates just what the nub of the argument against the Plan was. To counteract the probable effects of the Plan on teacher economics, the following was recommended:

The public must be informed in the true and proper sense. Arguments reserved in the past for the bargaining table will have to be disseminated more widely. We should substitute the terms "average costs" and "costs above provincial average" for "approved" and "non-approved" and the terms "expenditure" and "investment" for "costs". Should play up the position of uneducated unemployed. Should compare Canada with other countries in terms of portion of gross national product expended on education. Encourage supplementary requisitions. Government could have avoided a pattern of need for supplementary requisitions by making the fund substantially larger. Now its niggardliness will establish this pattern and in the future 32 mills will not prove sufficient.

Try to discover some long-term alternative to financing education. Present taxation on real property shows some real inequities. Try to discover and "milk the rich cow". Attempts should be made to increase salaries in those units which will benefit from the new plan.

Efforts should be concentrated on counties because requisitions of school committees cannot be appealed to the Local Authorities Board.³⁵

The effect of the Foundation Program Plan would be in regard to teachers' salaries and this was a concern of the leaders of the Association.

³³A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 41, No. 9, p. 79.

³⁴The Alberta Teachers' Association, "Synopsis of Minutes, Economic Consultants' Meeting, April 22, 1961" (mimeographed), p. 4.

³⁵Ibid., p. 6.

The arguments used by the officials of the Association that the Plan would severely curtail local school board autonomy in education were designed to illustrate that the Association in conducting salary negotiations would not be able to use to great advantage the tactic of placing the salaries paid by one school board as against the salaries paid by other school boards as a lever for further gains. Ostensibly, the Association's leaders evidenced concern only with local school board autonomy as illustrated by an editorial written by the Assistant Executive Secretary in January, 1962:

There can by now be not the slightest doubt that the effect of the government's education finance plan has been to transfer almost completely control of expenditure from local to provincial level.

If the present plan continues, school boards may find that in order to operate their systems on a balanced budget they will have to pile students into classrooms, engage teachers with little experience and low qualifications, and cut back, if not discontinue entirely, libraries, guidance, shop, home economics, and other special services characteristic of systems offering better educational opportunities to their communities. All kinds of incentives for mediocrity, and not a crumb for those who aspire to excellence.

Schizophrenia is evident in a formula which influences choices against improvement.³⁶

The interpretation of quality in education by the leaders of the Association was that quality in education meant fewer pupils per teacher and well-qualified teachers. These two aspects became mainstays of the argument against the Plan. The argument that the Plan would curtail local autonomy was not really a valid argument because, in practice, the Association did not want full autonomy for local school boards if it meant any deprivation of privileges in tenure and collective bargaining for teachers. In this latter instance, the Association's leaders desire that the

³⁶ A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 42, No. 5, pp. 4-5.

Government control school boards so that there would be no indication of a return to conditions of the 1920's and 1930's when school boards could hire and fire at will.

The move on the part of the leaders of the Association to an interpretation of the Plan's impinging on quality in education seems to be a valid one which may be illustrated statistically. As evidence of such a move, the President of the Association writing in the May, 1962, issue of the A.T.A. Magazine stated:

This year representation has been made to the Minister of Education regarding the possible effects of the new foundation formula. We agree that the equalization features are desirable but are concerned that the formula appears to set a psychological ceiling on educational improvement. In particular, the financial squeeze may encourage heavier class loads with resulting reduction in the quality of education.³⁷

In the same issue of the A.T.A. Magazine, the Executive Secretary of the Association reiterated this concern with quality and stated in part to the Annual General Meeting:

If this is a correct view of this situation, there can be little doubt that the so-called foundation plan will tend to level educational services towards mediocrity.³⁸

Although the Foundation Program Plan was modified as to the formula in its application for 1962, the basic elements of it have remained the same. The year, 1963, saw very little, if any, modification in the 1962 version.

SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

From the evidence presented, the conclusion is that The Alberta

³⁷A.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 42, No. 9, p. 18. ³⁸Ibid., p. 26.

Teachers' Association as an interest group had very little, if any, effect on the legislation of the Foundation Program Plan. This was probably due to the fact that the leaders were not versed in educational finance and therefore speculated themselves into a state of confusion as to what the Association's policy should be. To illustrate this conclusion, an examination of the initial statements of the leaders concerning local school board autonomy plus other detrimental aspects as compared to the present statements regarding quality in education shows that at the outset no one really knew what the policy should be. The present point of view that the Plan may be detrimental to the "high standards" approach of the Association, from all appearances, has been thoroughly rationalized and statistically represented, and therefore is a more valid one than the initial policy concerning local autonomy. As mentioned previously, the Association does not want full local autonomy for school boards without any governmental restrictions whatsoever. This local autonomy may jeopardize many of the gains in collective bargaining, teacher tenure, etc.

The present policy of being concerned with quality has a mass appeal and will probably go far in establishing a certain tax leeway which would aim at the improvement of educational services in the Province. Fewer pupils per classroom and better qualified teachers mean higher costs in education coupled with increases in salaries. But, it must be borne in mind that in the last analysis, The Alberta Teachers' Association is a mutual-benefit organization of teachers.

With regard to the succession of goals concept which permeates the Association's policy now, it may be argued that the Plan would severely

restrict the aim of improving the professional development of the teachers. It may be argued that the improvement of teachers on the job and the raising of the number of years of teacher education are valid policies and that the question of finances should not hamper these policies. In reality, the accruals from such policies would be for the children of the Province.

CHAPTER XII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The organization of The Alberta Teachers' Association as an interest group has been examined from the political science point of view by relying largely on documentary treatment. Throughout the study, attention was directed towards certain individuals and issues. With respect to the former, attention was aimed at what certain individuals said and what they did. In the latter, all aspects of a chosen issue were examined in so far as possible. The intention in this chapter is (a) to summarize the study by attempting to answer the questions posed at the end of each of the first two chapters¹; (b) to draw conclusions either by substantiating or refuting the hypotheses stated in the third chapter²; (c) to suggest some implications; and (d) to make some recommendations for further research.

SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

An interest group such as The Alberta Teachers' Association emerges as the result of the attempts on the part of individuals to make themselves effectively heard in society. It is only through the aggregate and by the organization of this aggregate that certain individuals are able to work for their mutual benefit. The normal position of many interest groups is

¹See pp. 12 and 13; also pp. 32-33 of this study.

²See pp. 34, 35, and 36 of this study.

to make demands on the senior governments in the body politic. Where the interest group is well organized, has status, and has an active and interested leadership, usually it becomes effective in influencing the decisions of senior governments. As such, an interest group is in reality an extension of the legislative function of a senior government.

The study of The Alberta Teachers' Association illustrated that in actual situations and over a period of time, the leadership, cohesion, and resources of an interest group are of paramount importance in making its voice heard. To ally the rank and file to the decisions of the leaders, it is necessary for the leaders to be in control of the internal communications and to make decisions which have an appeal initially to at least part of the rank and file. Once there is an appearance of rank and file support, various tactics can be used to persuade other groups and the senior government to the point of view of the leaders of the organization. The important thing is that rank and file support be at least implied. The apathy and general disinterest of a large segment of the rank and file further aids in serving as implied support.

From the beginning of the organization of an interest group, the concern is for gaining status. The primary goal is to secure legitimacy as a duly constituted spokesman for an aggregate. In order to secure legitimacy an interest group must formalize its organizational structure and institutionalize its internal features. However, once legitimacy has been secured, in order to survive, the interest group must be concerned not only with the maintenance of the group as such, but also with the setting up of a succession of goals.

Furthermore, after an organization has been constituted, there is a

tendency to perpetuate this initial sort of control by a few individuals. With regard to The Alberta Teachers' Association, it was found that a few active individuals keep the organization running at all levels of government in the Association. In various unions, the elected officers are on a full-time basis, but in the case of The Alberta Teachers' Association, the situation is different in that elected officers are on a part-time basis. Accordingly, the day-to-day business of coordinating the efforts of the Association is left to a small group of employed individuals. Such a situation is the consequence of: (a) the overlapping of membership in that elected officers are teachers owing some obligation to their pupils and employers and also some obligation to the Association; and (b) the sustaining of relationships of the Association with other groups in society and with the senior government and its agencies on a full-time basis.

The overlapping of membership concept is significant in another area--that of gaining some of the ends of the organization. It was found that teachers as members of the Association and as members of the Provincial government were instrumental in ensuring that the Provincial government advanced some of the objects of the Association. This was especially the case in the securing of The Teaching Profession Act and its subsequent amendments.

A further aspect considered in regard to a succession of goals is that these goals may eventually become obsolete because of changing circumstances and the exact opposite of a certain goal may now become the new goal. An illustration was the determining of a Provincial Salary Schedule which at one time was a desired goal of the Association, but

subsequently became something which it was necessary to oppose.

A pervading feature of an organization such as The Alberta Teachers' Association is the welfare of its members. It was found that the various aspects of collective bargaining are fundamental to the cohesiveness of the Association. Not only do monetary gains and economic welfare touch on the interests of every member of the aggregate, but they also serve as features of status of the organization in that the Association represents financial power.

When an issue arises, ~~it~~ it was found that the Association gained its ends only if the leadership was informed and knowledgeable concerning that issue. It was found that with regard to the Provincial Salary Schedule, the leaders knew what they were doing and nullified the major attempt to secure a Provincial Schedule. But with regard to the issue of the Foundation Program Plan, the leaders did not have adequate knowledge of its implications so that the Foundation Program Plan was instituted in spite of the protestations of the leadership of the Association. These protestations were not carefully determined in the first place.

Now what about the second group of questions?³ In the first place, the formal concentration of power in The Alberta Teachers' Association is with the Executive Council as spelled out in the constitution of the Association. However, it was found that the non-formal concentration of power was in the hands of the employed Executive Staff because of the need for the sustaining of relationships by the Association with other groups and because of the overlapping of membership of the elected officers of

³See pp. 34, 35, and 36 of this study.

the Executive Council in the Association. Within the Executive Staff of the Association an hierarchy of positions and duties exists, largely determined by a need for a division of labor and specialization.

In the second place, it was found that at every level of government of the Association an active minority with certain distinctive features was in non-formal control. But once an active minority was in non-formal control, it was relatively simple for it to use the formal instruments of control in order to sustain its own power. Nowhere was this use of the formal instruments of power by an active minority more apparent than when viewed in regard to the major issues chosen for study. A reliance was placed on the tradition of past decision. The active minority was acting in the best interests of the Association and would continue to do so no matter what new issue should arise.

The study of The Alberta Teachers' Association as an interest group showed that it was organized in a fashion which was relatively no different from other interest groups as treated in the related literature. The study found that the procedures and activities were highly correlative with the procedures and activities of other interest groups, again as cited in the related literature. What this means is that The Alberta Teachers' Association is not unique in its features, but that rather it is similar to any other interest group.

CONCLUSIONS

In stating conclusions concerning The Alberta Teachers' Association as an interest group, the proposal is to list the hypotheses in order and to discuss each briefly. The first group of hypotheses deal with the

Association as a collectivity.⁴

- (1) The Alberta Teachers' Association is a bureaucratic organization.

This hypothesis is a matter of judgment, but with regard to the evidence, it would seem that the Association is not the ideal type of bureaucratic organization. It would be more correct to state that although all the dimensions of bureaucracy are there, they are in a modified stage. The hierarchy of authority, the division of labor, technically competent participants, procedural devices for work situations, rules governing the behavior of members, limited authority of office, differential rewards of office, impersonality of conduct, administration separate from ownership, emphasis on written communication, and national discipline are all found in the Association to one degree or another. By no means have these dimensions been refined to a "cut-and-dried" relationship in a conscious way.⁵

- (2) The first goal of The Alberta Teachers' Association was to secure legitimacy which would then lead to increased membership, increased finances, and increased status.

This hypothesis was substantiated in that once legitimacy was secured by the amendment to The Teaching Profession Act, increased membership, finances, and status resulted.

- (3) The procedures governing The Alberta Teachers' Association were institutionalized so that the Association could survive.

This hypothesis lends itself to a relative judgment in that some procedures, e.g., election to office, have become institutionalized.

⁴See pp. 34-35 in this study.

⁵See p. 22 in this study.

However, not only may these institutionalized procedures be open to change, but also, some procedures, e.g., the modus operandi of the Executive Staff, have not been institutionalized--at least not consciously to a high degree.

- (4) A succession of goals was established so that the Association could survive.

This hypothesis was verified and has become one of the imperatives of the Association. From the early goal of securing legitimacy, the Association has now moved to the professional development and improvement of its members. Even though a majority of the rank and file of teachers do not have more than one year of training, the Association is concerned with seeing that the majority gets more than one year of training and that those teachers with only one year of training receive some sort of in-service education in order to make them more effective as teachers. This feature is best illustrated by the "high standards approach" of the Association.

- (5) Certain activities are encouraged so that the Association is maintained.

This hypothesis was substantiated. The Association encourages work-shops, seminars, internship programs for teachers, initiation ceremonies, education week, golf tournaments, curling bonspiels, etc., with a view to maintaining interest in the work of the organization. It was repeatedly illustrated that the Association was concerned with the lack of interest and the general apathy of the rank and file as far as the aims of the organization were apparent.

- (6) The Alberta Teachers' Association spends most of its funds and time on the maintaining of the organization as such and on the sustaining of the relationships of the Association with other groups in the body politic.

This hypothesis was also substantiated, but in more recent years there has been a gradual trend toward spreading the funds and time into other channels such as scholarships and loans, professional development, libraries, etc. These aspects, of course, will aid in maintaining the organization. In sustaining the relationships of the Association with other groups in society, the Association has evidenced a concern for having only certain qualified and respected individuals in positions of leadership. Such individuals would, of course, lend both prestige and status to the Association. They would be versed in accommodative techniques.

- (7) The Alberta Teachers' Association has exerted considerable influence on certain legislation concerning education in the Province of Alberta.

The Association has exerted considerable influence only in the cases where it exhibited a complete understanding of the issues involved so that in some issues it had very little, if any, influence. With regard to the issues where the Association was influential, the overlapping membership of certain individuals as teachers and as Members of the Legislature was instrumental in aiding the Association. Again, the amendment to The Teaching Profession Act, various pension accruals, The Alberta Labour Act, etc., are examples of the latter aspect. In other instances, such as the Foundation Program Plan, even overlapping membership did not help largely because the leaders of the Association were not too sure what the ramifications of the Plan would be and therefore had no

consistent policy. This hypothesis was substantiated.

- (8) Collective bargaining is an overriding concern of the Association since it is a "mutual benefit" organization.

This hypothesis has been verified. Teachers' salaries and other aspects of economic welfare seem to pervade all other concerns of the Association. They seem to maintain the interest of the rank and file and are a constant source of communications. Very few seminars, conventions, work-shops, etc., take place without some mention of teachers' salaries. The issue, of course, touches each and every member directly and as such serves to overcome apathy.

The second group of hypotheses are related to the internal structure of the Association.⁶

- (1) The real control of the decision-making process in The Alberta Teachers' Association is in the hands of the permanent Executive Staff: (i) formal control of the Association is in the hands of the Executive Council; (ii) non-formal control of the Association is in the hands of the permanent Executive staff; and (iii) in most situations, non-formal control determines and overrides formal control.

In the last analysis formal control of the affairs of the Association is in the hands of the Executive Council, but in the day-to-day business of the Association and in respect of the major issues studied, non-formal control overrides the formal control. The formal instruments of control such as the by-laws or constitution of the Association are used in a non-formal manner to substantiate the control of the permanent Executive Staff. As long as the Executive Staff carries out its duties and is cognizant of the fact that formal control is in the hands of the Executive Council, then the Executive Staff members are able to hold down

⁶See pp. 35-36 in this study.

their positions indefinitely. What this means is that the Executive Staff could be in jeopardy if it decided to work openly against the formal policies as set out by the Executive Council. Largely by the anomaly of anonymity and visibility is the Executive Staff able to sustain its control of the Association.

- (2) An active minority is in control at every level of government in the Association.

This hypothesis was substantiated to a relatively high degree as the various attributes of the incumbents of the offices in the year, 1962-63, at every level of government in the Association were compared with the attributes of the teaching force in general.

- (3) The Active minority at every level of government in the Association is drawn from males with degrees who were in administrative positions in teaching.

Although no statistical tests were applied to determine the significance of the differences, it seemed that this hypothesis was verified because the differences were so apparent.

- (4) The permanent Executive Staff works for the good of the organization.

In all of the issues examined and in the examination of the Association itself, this hypothesis was substantiated. Nowhere was it evident that permanent staff members were using the Association to gain personal ~~ends~~ ends. There was a high correlation between role expectations and role behaviour. As permanent staff members, they looked forward to a life-time of work for the Association. Their positions were not being used as steps to other, more lucrative positions in society. To what extent an Executive Assistant viewed this position as a step towards the Executive Secretaryship was not determined and was not one of the purposes

of the study. Inner group conflict and upward mobility were ignored by this writer.

- (5) In the Permanent Executive Staff itself, there is an hierarchy of positions and a division of labor exists.

With respect to the hierarchy of positions, it was clear that such existed. The division of labor was not too clear. There seemed to be an overlapping of duties and functions so that it was difficult to ascertain the degree of specialization by any one member.

- (6) The permanent Executive Staff members in exerting leadership in the Association learned their roles on the job, but also brought to the job considerable knowledge gained in large measure from their having been administrators in school systems.

One of the features of the Executive Staff members and of the elected Executive members at all levels of government in the Association was that they were applying the administrative concepts learned as educational administrators to the job of running this mutual-benefit organization. At all levels of government, the active minority was applying the skills learned as administrators in school systems, namely: (a) technical-managerial skills, (b) human-managerial skills, (c) technical education skills, and (d) speculative-creative skills.⁷

It would seem that most of the hypotheses have been substantiated in a relative way. It would also seem that documentary research has a validity which is uniquely applicable to studies of this type and that empirical measures need not necessarily be devised.

⁷Lawrence W. Downey, "The Skills of an Effective Principal," The Canadian Administrator, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 12.

IMPLICATIONS

Various implications may be drawn from this study, but it is proposed to confine these implications to organizations in general. One of the major implications was that interest groups are to a large measure extensions of the senior government of the body politic. As extensions, these interest groups must have status and also must exhibit a certain degree of cohesiveness.

A further implication was that only through some sort of organization can an individual be effective in making his wishes felt by a senior government. One individual must combine with others in mutual endeavour for the best results whenever other groups are concerned.

Still another implication was that bureaucratic organization controlled by an active minority seems to be a mode in society and that the popular connotation of the word "bureaucracy" should be discounted.

Another feature was that the skills developed by an administrator of a school system can be put to some use in the administration of other organizations. There seems to be a body of knowledge concerning organizations and bureaucracy which is common no matter what approach is taken. The documentary treatment given to the study of The Alberta Teachers' Association from the point of view that it is a situational factor proved that the application of concepts from political science served to support intensively various concepts in educational administration. Moreover, it would seem that rather than describing an organization by a recounting and recalling of auspicious events, a description of the behaviour of groups of individuals and of individuals themselves in regard to certain

events is more revealing.

In relation to the educational administrator, an interest group emerges as one of the situational factors to be accounted for whenever various problems in education arise, providing, of course, that the interest group is concerned with educational matters. The administrator cannot only rely on "what he knows", but must also rely on such factors as who is running the organization, how, and why. Individuals make up organizations and although the organization seems to be perpetual while individuals are not, these same individuals cannot be discounted at any given time in relations to any chosen issue.

A concluding implication was that probably some dissident interest should be encouraged by the active minority in control of an organization as lending to the vitality of that organization. It would seem from this study that although efficiency was prevalent, yet vitality was lacking in some measure. A united front is not an imperative at all times. Dissident interests would make useful contributions to an organization in the future.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Various other research projects were suggested as this study progressed. Among these were the following:

- (1) A comparison of The Alberta Teachers' Association with other interest groups such as The Alberta School Trustees' Association;
- (2) A comparison of The Alberta Teachers' Association with other teachers' organizations;
- (3) A study of the permanent Executive Staff of the Association as a small group in regard to the interactions of the members;

- (4) A study of teacher tenure;
- (5) Case studies of other interest groups;
- (6) A study of John W. Barnett, past General Secretary of The Alberta Teachers' Association;
- (7) A study of collective bargaining in so far as teachers are concerned; and
- (8) A study of possible re-organization of the Association with a view to determining such aspects as: (a) a different structure for the Association; (b) the election of permanent Executive Staff members; (c) the permanence of elected officers of the Executive Council by having them as a cabinet on a full-time basis.

In conducting further research regarding bureaucratic organization, it would seem that a vast area has just been barely tapped. The study of organizations and organizational problems should be a fruitful source of research in order to substantiate theory and in order to develop new theories.

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